

Domestic Work in Cape Town: An Exploration into the Growth of Part-Time Domestic
Work

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of the degree of Master of Social Science specializing in Industrial Sociology

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COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

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Abstract

Statistical analysis of the labour market in South Africa shows that between 1994 and 2015, the growth rate of domestic worker employment was slow in comparison to the growth rate of high-income jobs. In Gauteng, the slow growth of domestic worker employment contributed to the overall slow growth of all unskilled jobs. This is because domestic workers consist of around half of all unskilled jobs. The growth of these elementary jobs was therefore much slower compared to high-income middle-class jobs (Crankshaw, forthcoming). Therefore, Gauteng experienced professionalisation rather than social polarisation. Like Gauteng, Cape Town has also experienced professionalisation, due in part to the slow growth of domestic worker employment. The slow growth of domestic worker employment can be partly attributed to the growth of part-time domestic worker employment. This is because households employing part-time domestic workers tend to share domestic workers, which leads to fewer domestic workers being employed per household (Crankshaw, forthcoming).

This thesis explores some of the reasons behind the growth of part-time domestic work in Cape Town. Specifically, it uncovers and describes some of the reasons behind why middle-class households in Cape Town choose to employ part-time domestic workers. The thesis also explores how legislation has an impact on the wages, hours, and conditions of employment of domestic workers in middle-class households. The research conducted for this thesis uses both descriptive statistical methods and qualitative methods. The statistical research lays the foundation for the qualitative research by showing the slow growth rate of domestic employment in comparison to managerial, professional, and technical occupations.

A critical realist approach is used to guide the qualitative research. A critical realist approach seeks to explain causality through understanding the qualitative properties which create, determine or generate relations and objects. Therefore, the qualitative research uncovers and describes some of the causal mechanisms behind the growth of part-time domestic work in Cape Town with a specific focus on middle-class households. Reasons behind why middle-class households employ full-time domestic workers or no domestic workers at all, is explored as counterfactual evidence.

The thesis finds that many middle-class households which hire domestic workers do not base their wages only on the minimum wage. Rather the wages these households set are influenced

more by their personal values and/or personal finances. The households in this study which employed domestic workers did not generally adhere to government regulations such as having written contracts with their domestic workers or registering them for UIF. The causal mechanisms behind the decision to hire part-time, full-time or no domestic work is summarised in the table below. Shared causal mechanisms are highlighted.

| Causal mechanisms behind the employment of full-time domestic work and their wages | Causal mechanisms behind the employment of part-time domestic workers and their wages | Causal mechanisms behind the decision not to hire domestic work |
|---|---|--|
| Household size | Household size | Household size |
| Household employment | Household employment | |
| | Personal finances which makes it unviable for a household to hire full-time domestic work | Personal finances which makes it unviable for a household to hire domestic work at all |
| | The desire to consider the financial needs of one's domestic worker when setting a wage which makes it unviable for a household to hire full-time domestic work | The desire to consider the financial needs of a domestic worker when setting a wage which makes it unviable for a household to hire domestic work at all |
| The need for childcare | Feeling responsible for one's domestic worker which makes it unviable for a household to hire full-time domestic work | Cultural values |
| The desire to have the time to pursue one's own leisure | The negotiating power of one's domestic worker which makes it unviable for a household to hire full-time domestic work | Living alone |
| Having a relative available as a domestic worker | The influence of the going rate which makes it unviable for a household to hire full-time domestic work | |
| | The influence of childhood experiences | |
| | The health of an employer | |

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Abbreviations

| | |
|---------|---|
| BCEA | Basic Conditions of Employment Act |
| CCMA | Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration |
| COIDA | Compensation for Occupational Injuries and Diseases Act |
| LRA | Labour Relations Act |
| OHSA | Occupational Health and Safety Act |
| PALMS | Post-Apartheid Labour Market Series |
| SADSAWU | South African Service and Allied Workers Union |
| SADWU | African Domestic Worker Union |
| UIA | Unemployment Insurance Act |
| UICA | Unemployment Insurance Contributions Act |

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Introduction

Domestic work in South Africa constitutes a large portion of people in the workforce, particularly those in unskilled jobs. In the first quarter of 2020, 1 004 000 domestic workers were employed in the sector and constituted 6.1% of the South African workforce (Statistics South Africa, 2020a,b). Analysis of the literature and the labour market in South Africa shows two important trends regarding the domestic worker sector in South Africa. Firstly, since the 1970s, domestic workers have been moving from full-time, live-in employment to part-time, live-out employment (Ally, 2011; Crankshaw, forthcoming; Makosana, 1989). Secondly, the growth rate of domestic worker employment has been slow in comparison to the growth rate of employment in managerial, professional, and technical occupations in absolute terms. This can be seen by the analysis done with the Post-Apartheid Labour Market Series (PALMS) data from 1994 to 2015.¹ Similarly, a report released by the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) in 2013 shows the decline in domestic worker employment between 2006 and 2012 (Alexander, Dimant, Lebone, Moloi, Ndebele, Sethlatswe & Snyman, 2013). In Gauteng, the slow growth of domestic worker employment has contributed to the overall slow growth rate of all unskilled jobs. This is because domestic workers constitute approximately half of all unskilled jobs. The growth of these unskilled jobs has therefore been much slower compared to high-income technical, professional and managerial jobs (Crankshaw, forthcoming). This means that Gauteng has experienced professionalisation. Like Gauteng, Cape Town has also experienced professionalisation, due in part to the slow growth rate of domestic work and the growth of part-time domestic work.

This thesis explores some of the reasons behind the growth of part-time domestic work in South Africa. Specifically, it uncovers and describes some of the reasons behind why middle-class households choose to employ part-time domestic workers. It does this by first providing context for the research in the literature review. The literature review explores: (1) the history of domestic work in South Africa; (2) the development of legislation and how it has affected the growth of part-time employment in the domestic work sector; (3) additional reasons for the growth of part-time employment and the slow growth rate in the domestic worker sector; (4) the debate around how and to what extent legislation in South Africa has affected the wages, conditions of employment and working hours of domestic workers; and (5) the effect of domestic work employment growth on the Cape Town Labour Market.

¹ See methods and findings chapter for more in-depth detail

After providing context for the research, the thesis then describes the research design, methods and ethics which were used. The research conducted for this thesis uses both descriptive statistical methods and qualitative methods. The statistical research lays the foundation for the qualitative research by demonstrating the statistical trends that need to be explained, namely the slow growth rate of domestic employment in comparison to managerial, professional, and technical occupations.

A critical realist approach is used to guide the qualitative research. A critical realist approach seeks to explain phenomena through understanding the qualitative properties which create, determine or generate relations and objects. Therefore, the qualitative research uncovers and describes some of the causal mechanisms behind the growth of part-time domestic work in Cape Town with a specific focus on middle-class households. Reasons behind why middle-class households employ full-time domestic workers or no domestic workers at all, is explored as counterfactual evidence. The Harvard referencing style is used in conjunction with Mendeley Desktop software version 1.19.4 to reference all sources.

Findings in this thesis show that the decision of middle-class households concerning what wage to pay both part-time and full-time domestic workers was not influenced by the minimum wage. Likewise, households which did not hire domestic workers because of financial reasons did so based on a personal understanding of what a domestic worker's wage should be and not on the minimum wage. Middle-class households also did not generally adhere to government regulations such as having written contracts with their domestic workers or registering them with the UIF.

Some of the reasons that middle-class households in this study chose to employ part-time domestic workers are as follows. Firstly, they could not afford a full-time domestic worker. These households paid their part-time domestic workers above the minimum wage and felt that they could not afford to pay this wage to a full-time domestic worker. There are four unique factors affecting the wages that these households paid their domestic workers. These are: (1) some households felt financially responsible for their part-time domestic workers; (2) some households negotiated the wage with their domestic workers before hiring them; (3) some households paid their domestic workers a wage which was influenced by the going rate in the area; and (4) participants from households employing part-time domestic workers reported that their childhood experiences influenced their values, which in turn influenced the wages they paid their domestic workers. Secondly, some households hired part-time domestic

workers due to health-related issues which prevented household members from doing household chores. Thirdly, households hired part-time domestic workers because one or both partners were working. This was also a reason behind the employment of full-time domestic work, but to a lesser extent. Fourthly, households hired part-time domestic workers because they felt that their living space was too small to warrant hiring a full-time domestic worker. This also influenced the decision of some households not to hire domestic workers at all. The perception of what constituted a small house, however, was based on living conditions and family dynamics rather than the actual size of the property.

Households in this study which hired full-time domestic workers did so for three main reasons. Firstly, some households hired full-time domestic workers because of the need for childcare. Secondly, some households hired full-time domestic workers as a luxury. These households were high-income households with a large living space where one partner did not work, but wanted a domestic worker to help with child rearing and household cleaning nonetheless. Thirdly, some households hired full-time domestic workers because they had had positive experiences of live-in domestic workers as children.

Households in this study which chose not to hire domestic workers at all did so because they felt they could not afford to do so. They felt they could not afford a domestic worker because they could not pay what they personally perceived to be a fair wage. This desire to pay a fair wage was directly connected to childhood experiences which made them aware of how it feels not to have a job which provides enough money to live off. They also chose not to hire domestic workers because the households consisted of one person who felt he or she was capable of doing the domestic chores without help. Finally, a single, female-headed household in this study chose not to hire a domestic worker because of cultural values which made her uncomfortable with giving instructions to older women but uneasy hiring younger women especially to help look after her daughter.

Chapter 1: Literature Review

1.1. Definitions

Before exploring the literature underpinning the qualitative and statistical research conducted for this thesis, it is necessary to first provide a definition of what is meant by the terms domestic worker, full-time domestic work and part-time domestic work.

According to Article 31 of Sectoral Determination 7 (South African Department of Employment and Labour, 2002a: 30), domestic work is defined as: “any domestic worker or independent contractor who performs domestic work in a private household and who receives, or is entitled to receive, pay and includes –

- (a) a gardener;
- (b) a person employed by a household as a driver of a motor vehicle; and
- (c) a person who takes care of children, the aged, the sick, the frail or the disabled;
- (d) domestic workers employed or supplied by employment services”

(South African Department of Employment and Labour, 2002a: 30)

According to the Unemployment Insurance Act (UIA) (South African Department of Employment and Labour, 2003: 4) and Section 1 of the Unemployment Insurance Contributions Act (UICA) (South African Department of Employment and Labour, 2002b: 2), a domestic worker is defined as: “An employee who performs domestic work in the home of his or her employer, and includes a –

- (a) gardener;
- (b) person employed by a household as a driver of a motor vehicle; and
- (c) person who takes care of any person in that home, but does not include a farm worker;”

(South African Department of Employment and Labour, 2002b: 4, 2003: 2)

For the purpose of this thesis, domestic work will refer to the above definitions, but will not include gardeners or drivers for private households. Full-time domestic workers are understood to be those which work 35 hours a week or more, while part-time domestic

workers are those who work less than 35 hours a week (International Labour Organization, 2016).

1.2. History of Domestic Work before the End of Apartheid

Domestic work has existed in South Africa since colonial times (Cock, 1980; Ginsburg, 1999). Initially, domestic workers consisted of African, Indian, European, Coloured, San and Khoi people (Cock, 1980). In Natal and the Transvaal, domestic work was carried out as paid labour mostly by men. Black African men would engage in domestic work, not only as a way to earn a living, but also to pay for lobola and taxes. Black African women, on the other hand, were generally self-employed and often sold beer (Makosana, 1989).

Over time, domestic work became a mostly black African, female occupation in South Africa (Cock, 1980; Makosana, 1989). In the Western Cape, this transition took slightly longer than the rest of the country. The strict implementation of the Labour Preference Policy along with the influx control system in Cape Town made it difficult for black African women to find work as domestic workers. However, as coloured women gradually gained access to other waged labour, black African women began to dominate the industry (Makosana, 1989; South African History Online, n.d.).

The fact that domestic work became a mostly black African, female occupation in South Africa happened for several reasons. Firstly, men began moving into the manufacturing sector and domestic work became dominated by women (Makosana, 1989). Black African women from rural areas began migrating to urban areas in search of work as a way to escape poverty, working conditions on farms and to gain independence from husbands who worked in the mines and were hardly at home. The desire for independence from their husbands was partly influenced by missionaries who emphasised ideas of personal autonomy which many black African women found attractive (Ginsburg, 2000, 2011). Secondly, legislation and regulations forced black African women into domestic work (Makosana, 1989). During Apartheid, black African women found it difficult to find work apart from domestic work. This was because access to certain jobs under Apartheid legislation was restricted to certain races. Black African women were excluded from most jobs which were considered female occupations. The poor education which the government of the time provided black African women with also made it difficult for them to obtain relevant skills needed in the labour market (Du Preez, Beswick, Whittaker & Dickinson, 2010). As time passed, women of other races began moving out of domestic worker jobs because they had access to better work or

because they got married. As a result, most black African women had little option but to become domestic workers. Unfortunately, domestic servants were not officially recognised as workers during Apartheid, which meant that they were not legally able to form unions which could negotiate wages on an industrial council and there was no minimum wage set for the sector (Cock, 1980; Makosana, 1989).

By the mid-1960s, most domestic workers lived on their employers' premises and worked full-time. This too was due to Apartheid legislation (Ally, 2011; Crankshaw, forthcoming; Makosana, 1989). This disadvantaged position was compounded for black African women because of race. Black African women were seen as minors under customary law which meant that they were not allowed council housing in townships in urban areas without a marriage certificate (Ginsburg, 2000; Makosana, 1989). In 1955, it became mandatory for black African women without the right to housing in African Group Areas to live on their employers' premises due to an amendment which was made to the Native Urban Areas Act. At first, this meant that single, black African women without urban rights were forced into full-time, live-in domestic work (Crankshaw, forthcoming). Married domestic workers who did not live on their employees' properties were dependent on their husbands for housing (Ginsburg, 2000). By 1965, black African, married women without full urban rights were no longer permitted to stay with their husbands in African Group Areas (Crankshaw, forthcoming). In addition to the need for accommodation, domestic workers found it necessary to live on their employers' premises because of the influx control system which controlled their movements and made it difficult to move back and forth between White areas and African Group Areas.

The influx control system was introduced in 1945 as a way for the Government of the time to restrict and control people's movement. Specifically, it was designed to limit black African people's movement into urban areas. Underpinning the influx control system was the Natives Urban Areas Consolidation Act which was implemented in a number of different ways (Dictionary of South African English, n.d.). Black African people, including domestic workers, who were employed and/or lived in urban areas, were required to carry a reference book with them, without which they faced imprisonment or deportation. In the Western Cape, domestic workers were required to register with and annually renew their contracts at the labour bureaux. Domestic workers in the Western Cape also frequently experienced police raids in their quarters in the evenings, as they were not allowed to have their family live with them on their employers' premises (Makosana, 1989).

For many black African women, lack of accommodation and the influx control system meant that living in an outside room on an employer's premises and working full-time was their only option. Thus, by the mid-1960s, most domestic workers were black African women who worked for white families on a full-time basis. Most white, middle-class homes had outside rooms which domestic workers lived in. These rooms were rudimentary and often in bad condition, but provided black African women with a place to live (Ginsburg, 2000, 2011).

By the 1970s, domestic workers began to move out of their employers' premises and started moving into part-time domestic employment as the legal restrictions on where black African, domestic workers lived began to relax (Ally, 2006; Crankshaw, forthcoming; Makosana, 1989). In 1986, the Influx Control System and the Coloured Labour Preference Policy were both abolished and a common identity document was introduced for everyone (Makosana, 1989). This meant that domestic workers were now allowed to live with their families and children in the black African townships and were able to form live-out and even part-time contracts with employers (Ally, 2006; Crankshaw, forthcoming).

1.3. Domestic Work after Apartheid

After Apartheid, the new ANC Government designated domestic workers as vulnerable workers (Ally, 2006) and began planning to introduce a minimum wage for the sector. Budlender (2016) provides a helpful timeline which shows the new legislation and steps taken to make this a reality:

Figure 1: Timeline of the introduction of legislation covering domestic workers

| Date | Event |
|-----------|---|
| 1993 | Basic Conditions of Employment amended to cover domestic workers |
| 1994 | First democratic elections in South Africa |
| 1995 | Labour Relations Act amended to cover domestic workers |
| 1999 | Setting of minimum wage for domestic workers included in Minister of Labour's Five-Year Plan |
| 1999 | Government gazette issued establishing terms of reference for domestic worker investigation |
| 1999-2001 | Public hearings and commissioned research to inform sectoral determination |
| 2001 | Government gazette issued with consultative document on proposed wages and conditions of work |
| 2001 | Unemployment Insurance Fund legislation amended to cover domestic workers |
| 2002 | Employment Conditions Commission advises Minister on minimum wages and conditions of work |
| 2002 | Minister approves Sectoral Determination 7, which comes into effect |
| 2002 | Unemployment Insurance Fund coverage comes into effect for domestic workers |

(Budlender, 2016: 1)

In 1993, domestic workers were included under the Basic Conditions of Employment Act (BCEA) of 1983. In 1997, the new BCEA was passed and repealed the whole of the BCEA of 1983. Domestic workers were also included in the new BCEA which means that domestic workers now have rights as workers and have legal protection covering them (Budlender, 2016; Republic of South Africa, 1997: 78).

In 1995, domestic workers were included under the Labour Relations Act (LRA). The LRA provides domestic workers with the right to organize themselves and a way to resolve disputes (Budlender, 2016: 3). It also provides domestic workers with access to the Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration (CCMA) where they can go if they feel they have been unfairly dismissed (Budlender, 2016; Smit & Mpedi, 2011).

By 2002, the Unemployment Insurance Contributions Act (UICA) and the Unemployment Insurance Act (UIA) were expanded to include domestic workers (Budlender, 2016).

Employers are now required to register their domestic workers if they work 24 hours or more a month. This means these domestic workers have access to unemployment, adoption, sickness, death, and maternity benefits. In the case of a domestic worker's death, their dependents may also be able to receive assistance (Western Cape Government, n.d.). Although the BCEA only covers employers who work for 24 hours a month or more, domestic workers who work part-time but work for more than one employer are entitled to limited unemployment benefits. If a domestic worker loses his or her job because the employer dies, he or she is also eligible for unemployment benefits (Smit & Mpedi, 2011).

In addition to the above legislation, the Occupational Health Safety Act (OHSA) covers domestic workers. However, the Compensation for Occupational Injuries and Diseases Act (COIDA) does not cover domestic workers. This means that while employers are required to ensure the safety of their domestic workers, they are not required to compensate them if they are hurt or become sick while at work or because of their work. In the case of injury or disease at work, a domestic worker may potentially sue an employer, although this comes with its own risks. Domestic workers who choose this course of action may not win the case or their employers may not be able to recompense them. It may also not be a financially viable option for many domestic workers (Smit & Mpedi, 2011). In 2013, however, South Africa ratified ILO Convention 189 which requires that COIDA include domestic workers. In 2015, a case was brought forward to the High Court after a domestic worker drowned in her

employer's pool. As a result of the case, in 2018 the COIDA Amendment Bill was published for public comment. In 2019, the South African High Court ruled that the exclusion of domestic workers from COIDA is unconstitutional. However, until the Constitutional Court confirms the High Court's ruling, these changes to COIDA cannot be enforced (Mohlhlo & Raseote, 2019).

Finally, in 2002, Sectoral Determination 7 was introduced as a way to set the minimum wage for the sector. Before the National Minimum Wage Act of 2018 (NMWA) was passed in South Africa, minimum wages were regulated in different ways. In order for them to be published in a government gazette, as with the minimum wages for domestic workers, three different routes could be taken. These were through sectoral determinations, statutory councils or bargaining councils. Vulnerable sectors and sectors which struggle to organise workers usually had their minimum wages set through sectoral determinations (Budlender, 2016; South African Department of Employment and Labour, 2018a,b). In December 2018, the minimum wage was set for domestic workers as follows:

Figure 2: The minimum wage for domestic workers as of December 2018

| DOMESTIC WORKER SECTOR MINIMUM WAGES: | | | |
|---|-----------|--|-------------|
| Table 1: Area A | | Table 2: Area A | |
| Minimum wages for domestic workers who work more than 27 ordinary hours per week | | Minimum wages for domestic workers who work 27 ordinary hours per week or less | |
| Bergrivier Local Municipality, Breederivier Local Municipality, Buffalo City Local Municipality, Cape Agulhas Local Municipality, Cederberg Local Municipality, City of Cape Town, City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality, City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, Drakenstein Local Municipality, Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality, Emalahleni Local Municipality, Emfuleni Local Municipality, Ethekwini Metropolitan Municipality, Gamagara Local Municipality, George Local Municipality, Hibiscus Coast Local Municipality, Karoo Hoogland Local Municipality, Kgatelopele Local Municipality, Khara Hais Local Municipality, Knysna Local Municipality, Kungwini Local Municipality, Kouga Local Municipality, Langeberg Local Municipality, Lesedi Local Municipality, Makana Local Municipality, Mangaung Local Municipality, Matzikama Local Municipality, Metsimaholo Local Municipality, Middelburg Local Municipality, Midvaal Local Municipality, Mngeni Local Municipality, Mogale Local Municipality, Mosselbaai Local Municipality, Msunduzi Local Municipality, Mtubatuba Local Municipality, Nama Khoi Local Municipality, Nelson Mandela, Nokeng tsa Taemane Local Municipality, Oudtshoorn Local Municipality, Overstrand Local Municipality, Plettenbergbaai Local Municipality, Potchefstroom Local Municipality, Randfontein Local Municipality, Richtersveld Local Municipality, Saldanha Bay Local Municipality, Sol Plaatje Local Municipality, Stellenbosch Local Municipality, Swartland Local Municipality, Swellendam Local Municipality, Theewaterskloof Local Municipality, Umdoni Local Municipality, uMhlathuze Local Municipality and Witzend Local Municipality. | | | |
| Minimum rates for the period 3 December 2018 to promulgation of the minimum wage provision contained in the National Minimum Wage Act. | | Minimum rates for the period 3 December 2018 to promulgation of the minimum wage provision contained in the National Minimum Wage Act. | |
| Hourly Rate (R) | 13.69 | Hourly Rate (R) | 16.03 |
| Weekly Rate (R) | 616.03* | Weekly Rate (R) | 432.78*** |
| Monthly Rate (R) | 2669.24** | Monthly Rate (R) | 1875.22**** |
| Table 1: Area B (Areas not mentioned in Area A) | | Table 2: Area B (Areas not mentioned in Area A) | |
| Minimum wages for domestic workers who work more than 27 ordinary hours per week | | Minimum wages for domestic workers who work 27 ordinary hours per week or less | |
| Hourly Rate (R) | 12.47 | Hourly Rate (R) | 14.72 |
| Weekly Rate (R) | 561.27* | Weekly Rate (R) | 397.37*** |
| Monthly Rate (R) | 2431.97** | Monthly Rate (R) | 1721.81**** |
| * Indicative weekly rate for employees working a maximum of 45 ordinary hours per week. | | *** Indicative weekly rate for employees working a maximum of 27 ordinary hours per week. | |
| ** Indicative monthly rate for employees working a maximum of 45 ordinary hours per week. | | **** Indicative monthly rate for employees working a maximum of 27 Ordinary hours per week. | |

(South African Department of Employment and Labour, 2018: 5)

As can be seen, minimum wages were different for Area A and Area B, where Area A's household incomes are, on average, above a certain threshold. The minimum wage was also different for domestic workers who work "more than 27 ordinary hours per week" (South African Department of Employment and Labour, 2018: 5) for an employer and those who work less. In January 2019, the new national minimum wage came into effect. This meant

that workers were no longer to be paid less than R20 an hour. Domestic workers, along with farm workers and those employed by the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) were exempt (South African Department of Employment and Labour, 2019). However, since the introduction of the national minimum wage, domestic workers' wages are now worked out as a percentage of the national minimum wage and fall under the NMWA. In March 2020, the minimum wage for domestic workers was set at R15.57 per hour (South African Department of Employment and Labour, 2018a,b).

While domestic workers theoretically are allowed to organise themselves and have access to the CCMA, domestic worker unions have struggled, since the end of Apartheid, to effectively organise domestic workers in South Africa (Budlender, 2016). In 1996, the South African Domestic Worker Union (SADWU), which had been founded in 1986, dissolved. In 2001, the South African Service and Allied Workers Union (SADSAWU) was started, but has also struggled to incorporate and organise the majority of domestic workers in South Africa (Budlender, 2016). One key reason for this can be identified. The organisational rights presented in the LRA are, in practice, more appropriate for formal workplaces with a larger numbers of workers and large trade unions (Social Law Project, 2014: 1). In contrast to this more traditional work environment, domestic workers often work part-time, in private households and as individuals. This makes it difficult for a bargaining council to operate in the sector, since unions do not have access to an organisation representing employers that they can negotiate with (Social Law Project, 2014). Additionally, it is difficult for union officials to really know the working conditions of domestic workers because they are not allowed to enter their work spaces without the permission of the employers. Employers are also not required by law to provide information to union officials if this information is requested. (Smit & Mpedi, 2011:327). However, domestic worker unions have had, and continue to have, an important impact on the sector through campaigning, advocacy, mediation especially with the CCMA, training, providing relevant information and counselling (Mywage.co.za, n.d.; South African Domestic Service and Allied Workers Union, n.d.). Furthermore, many domestic workers belong to other trade unions and organisations such as the National Services and Allied Workers' Union and the Black Domestic Workers Association (Budlender, 2016).

Sectoral determinations not only set minimum wages, but also set out conditions of employment which may differ from those contained in the BCEA, where these are believed to be unfitting for a specific sector (Budlender, 2016: 4). For example, Sectoral

Determination 7 includes regulations around wages, written particulars of employment, termination of employment, leave, working hours, and the banning of forced or child labour (South African Department of Employment and Labour, 2002a).

Because domestic work takes place in private households, it is important for the government to provide the regulations around domestic work in an easily understandable and accessible way for employers who may not have any knowledge or experience with labour law. For the most part, this is the case. It is easy to access particular information on domestic work on the Department of Employment and Labour's website. Furthermore, this information is provided in a format which is easy to understand. However, the Department does not provide the necessary information altogether in one place, which means that employers will only find information if they know what they are specifically looking for. For example, a page which provides a summary of the various acts covering domestic workers, such as the BCEA, LRA, UIA, UICA, and the NMWA as well as information on how these apply to domestic workers should be provided in one place. Information on domestic worker unions and their access to the CCMA should also be provided here. This would ensure that employers who have no experience or knowledge in labour law would be able to understand how they are, by law, expected to relate to their domestic workers.

1.4. Domestic Work Employment Trends and their Causes

By reviewing the literature provided on the history of domestic work, one can see that one of the important trends in the domestic work sector is the move from full-time, live-in employment to part-time, live-out employment (Ally, 2011; Crankshaw, forthcoming; Makosana, 1989). This can be credited to the collapse of the influx control system as well as the relaxation of the legal restrictions on where black African domestic workers lived during Apartheid (Crankshaw, forthcoming). Domestic workers took advantage of the relaxation of these legal restrictions to restructure their conditions of employment. For example, moving to part-time work provided them with a way to control their hours and their tasks. Instead of being expected to work until a specific time regardless of the tasks given to them, they could now accomplish specific tasks agreed to and leave once these were done (Ally, 2006).

The growth of part-time domestic work is something which continued after the end of Apartheid. While the above reasons may still serve to motivate domestic workers to choose part-time domestic work, this move is also encouraged by employers themselves (Blaauw &

Bothma, 2010). Many employers in South Africa choose to hire part-time domestic workers because they cannot afford full-time domestic workers (Ally, 2006; Flint, 1988).

Employers may also hire part-time domestic workers because they have a small home or townhouse. In their study, Blaauw and Bothma (2010) found that people staying in townhouses were more likely to employ part-time domestic workers than people staying in detached houses. They were also more likely to employ them for less hours a day and more likely to pay them less. Blaauw and Bothma (2010) argue that the reason for this is due to the fact that townhouses are smaller than houses, and generally have less occupants living in them. This means that domestic chores in townhouses or apartments take up less time than domestic chores in houses.

Employers who do not have children may also be less likely to hire full-time domestic workers. In her study, Strelitz' (2018) found that a causal mechanism motivating people to hire full-time domestic workers is the existence of an employed mother, especially a mother who shoulders the burden of domestic chores in the home.

Finally, some employers may hire part-time domestic workers because they feel that having a part-time domestic worker affords them more privacy. Du Toit (2012) argues that some people hire domestic workers through domestic worker agencies because some agencies will send a team of workers to clean. This means that there will not be a domestic worker in the house the whole day providing the customer with more privacy. While there are other reasons that people hire domestic workers through agencies, this finding points to the reality that some people want their privacy and may prefer to have a part-time domestic worker rather than a full-time domestic worker for this reason. The fieldwork and analysis conducted for this thesis provide additional causal mechanisms explaining the reasons behind why employers hire domestic workers on a part-time basis.

In addition to the growth of part-time domestic employment in South Africa, the Post-Apartheid Labour Market Series (PALMS) data from 1994 to 2015 shows the slow rate of domestic worker employment growth in comparison to the employment growth rate of professional, managerial, and technical and associate professional occupations in absolute terms.² Similarly, a report released by the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) in 2013 shows the decline in domestic worker employment between 2006 and 2012

² See methods and findings section for more in-depth information.

(Alexander *et al.*, 2013). The slow growth of domestic worker employment can be partly attributed to the growth of part-time domestic work employment. This is because households employing part-time domestic workers tend to share domestic workers unlike households with full-time domestic workers which tend to employ their own domestic workers. This means that there are now fewer domestic workers in the market. In Gauteng, the slow growth of domestic worker employment has contributed to the overall slow rate of growth of all unskilled jobs. This is because domestic workers account for around half of all unskilled jobs (Crankshaw, forthcoming). The growth of these elementary jobs has therefore been much slower compared to high-income technical, professional and managerial jobs. This means that Gauteng has experienced professionalisation rather than social polarisation (Crankshaw, forthcoming). Like Gauteng, Cape Town has also experienced professionalisation rather than social polarisation, due in part to the slow growth rate of domestic work and the growth of part-time domestic work. This will be dealt with in more detail under the next section.

The growth or decline in the number of hours per week that domestic workers work since the introduction of the minimum wage and other legislation regulating domestic work is also an important trend, but it is debated by scholars. According to Hertz (2005), domestic workers' wages per hour and per month increased while their weekly hours and employment numbers decreased as a result of the introduction of the minimum wage in 2002. In his econometric analysis of the data taken from Labour Force Surveys from 2001 to 2004, Hertz (2005) argues that there is a causal link between the introduction of the minimum wage in 2002, and the rise of wages and decline in employment and hours of work in the domestic work sector. However, he argues that domestic workers in South Africa are still paid extremely low wages.

His study also shows that since the introduction of legislation in the domestic worker sector, many domestic workers have been registered with the UIF but not many unemployed domestic workers have been paid UIF benefits. More employers have also provided their domestic workers with paid leave, written contracts and pensions. It is important to note that his definition of domestic workers is the same as that provided for in legislation, which includes more than just an employee who cleans.

Dinkelman and Ranchhod (2012) also argue that after 2002, domestic workers' wages rose and that domestic workers' conditions of employment improved. However, their study differs from Hertz (2005) in that it shows that there has been no decline in employment and hours of

work in the domestic work sector. Their study uses 2001 to 2004 data from the labour force survey. They do not specify the definition of domestic workers for their study (Dinkelman & Ranchhod, 2012). Dinkelman and Ranchhod's (2012) differing results to those found by Hertz (2005) can be attributed to the fact that the Labour Force Survey weights which they used were updated after Hertz' (2005) study.

Blaauw and Bothma (2010) argue that in Langenhoven Park, Bloemfontein, domestic worker wages have increased and employers' adherence to legislation regarding their domestic workers has improved. Unlike Hertz (2005) and Dinkelman and Ranchhod (2012), however, they argue that the increase in domestic workers' wages happened between 1997 and 2001, before the introduction of the minimum wage. They attribute this to the desire by employers to prepare themselves for the implementation of the new minimum wage law in 2002. They did this by reducing the hours of their domestic workers while increasing their wages per hour which led to an increase in part-time domestic work. As domestic workers began to work for multiple employers, they began to earn more money than when they had worked full-time.

Blaauw and Bothma (2010) argue that between 1997 and 2001, part-time domestic work increased significantly and then stabilised. Similar to Dinkelman and Ranchhod (2012), Blaauw and Bothma (2010) argue that the average number of hours worked by domestic workers remained the same between 2000 and 2010. They argue that, although domestic workers had moved into part-time work, the fact that they worked for multiple employers meant that their hours remained similar to when they had worked full-time. It is important to note here that Blaauw and Bothma also did not define the term domestic work for their study. Blaauw and Bothma's (2010) arguments are important, because they show a link between the minimum wage and the shift to part-time domestic work. Their arguments also show that the shift was encouraged by employers, and not just domestic workers.

1.5. The Effect of Domestic Work Employment Growth on the Cape Town Labour Market

Since the 1970s, Cape Town's economy has undergone de-industrialisation (Borel-Saladin & Crankshaw, 2009). Whether this has resulted in professionalisation or social polarisation has been debated by scholars. The debate will be fleshed out in the paragraphs below. It is important to note here that the theories of social polarisation and professionalisation are

usually used to describe the labour market changes in global cities (Sassen, 1991; Wills, May, Datta, Evans, Herbert, Mcilwaine, Wills, May, Datta, Evans, Herbert & Mcilwaine, 2009), but can also be used to describe the labour markets of cities, such as Cape Town, which are not necessarily considered global cities, but have experienced de-industrialisation (Borel-Saladin & Crankshaw, 2009) or are aspiring to become global cities (Lemanski, 2007).

Saskia Sassen (1991, 2005), whose scholarly work focuses extensively on global cities, argues that global cities are characterised by income and occupational polarisation. Income and occupational polarisation can be defined as the process where there is a growth in low-paid and low-skilled occupations in the service sector, a growth in high-income jobs in managerial and professional occupations in the service sector, and a decline in middle-income occupations in the manufacturing sector. Global cities emerged during the 1970s and 1980s when the global economy was gradually restructured (Wills *et al.*, 2009) due to the emergence of neo-liberalism (Hardt & Negri, 2004; Standing, 2011). According to Sassen (1991, 2005), these global cities became key centres for the global financial system as well as for many multinational/transnational firms.

Social polarisation, according to Sassen (1991), began to take place in global cities for two main reasons. Firstly, deindustrialisation meant that the semi-skilled and skilled manual middle-income occupations within the manufacturing sectors began to decline. Secondly, the service sector began to grow and overtake the manufacturing industry. The emergence of multinational/transnational firms and specialised firms increased the demand for managers and professionals (Sassen, 2005: 30). Therefore, the service sector in global cities is characterised by the growth of managerial and professional jobs which in turn need lower income workers (both at home and at work) to sustain these jobs and the lifestyles that come with them (Sassen, 1991; Hamnett, 1994). Examples of lower-paid, less-skilled occupations include but are not limited to maintenance work, beauty care, masseuses, delivery work and domestic work. In addition, high-income areas created a demand for sweatshops and small firms in the retail and production industries. (Sassen, 1991: 280).

An example of how the lifestyles of high-income earners can create a demand for low-skilled and low-waged work can be seen in Gregson and Lowe's (2005) book, *Servicing the Middle Classes: class, gender and waged domestic labour in contemporary Britain*. The authors argue that in London, domestic workers were hired in up to forty per cent of households in which both partners worked. (Gregson & Lowe, 2005: 48). These households tended to be

middle-class where both partners' occupied managerial and professional positions. The demand for domestic workers in Britain stemmed from affluent areas, including London (Gregson & Lowe, 2005), one of the cities Sassen (1991) used as an example of a global city experiencing social polarisation. Thus, Sassen (1991) argues that the lifestyles of those with high-income jobs in Global Cities create a demand for lower paid, less skilled occupations. As stated, therefore, global cities according to Sassen (1991, 2005) are characterised by income and occupational polarisation where there is a growth in low-paid and low-skilled occupations in the service sector, a growth in high-income jobs in managerial and professional occupations in the service sector, and a decline in middle-income occupations in the manufacturing sector.

Other authors argue that while some global cities such as Los Angeles and New York may experience social polarisation due mainly to the inflow of immigrants who possessed low skills into these cities which, in turn, provide a large pool of cheap labour (Hamnett, 1994:p422), others such as Singapore, Taipei and Randstad have rather tended towards professionalisation (Hamnett, 1994:p407; Tai, 2006:p). Professionalisation can be defined as the growth of occupations demanding workers with high skills and a decline in occupations demanding unskilled and semi-skilled workers. Thus, the employment growth of low-skilled, elementary occupations is slower than middle-income and high-income occupations (Borel-saladin, 2006: 48).

As stated, while Cape Town is not considered a global city, it does aspire to be one. In addition, since the 1970s, it has undergone deindustrialisation (Borel-Saladin & Crankshaw, 2009; Lemanski, 2007). Certain scholars, such as Lemanski (2007) argue that this has led to social polarisation where semi-skilled jobs have declined while high-skilled jobs as well as low-skilled jobs have increased (Lemanski, 2007). However, not all scholars agree that Cape Town has experienced social polarisation because of deindustrialisation. Borel-Saladin and Crankshaw (2009) in their study on the occupational and income structure of Cape Town argue that between 1980 and 2001, the labour market in Cape Town experienced professionalisation. Crankshaw (2012) argues that the discrepancy between Lemanski's (2007) and Borel-Saladin and Crankshaw's (2009) accounts are due to the fact that their studies use different classifications to define high, middle and low income occupations and also due to a publishing mistake in the statistical report by the South African Cities Network (South African Cities Network, 2006) used by Lemanski (2007).

Borel-Saladin and Crankshaw (2009) argue that Cape Town's labour market has tended towards professionalisation because, while manual middle-income jobs in the manufacturing industry have declined, there has been growth in non-manual middle-income jobs in the service sector. This growth of non-manual middle-income jobs nearly compensates for the decline of manual middle-income manufacturing jobs. In their study, high-income jobs were classified as technicians, managers, senior officials, legislators, associate professionals and professionals. Middle-income occupations were classified as machine and plant operators, assemblers, craft and related trades workers, clerks, sales workers, shop workers and service workers (Borel-Saladin and Crankshaw, 2009). Borel-Saladin and Crankshaw (2009) argue that clerks, sales workers, shop workers and service workers in Cape Town should be considered middle-income earners because they earned slightly higher salaries than middle-income manufacturing jobs (Borel-Saladin & Crankshaw, 2009).

Thus, Borel-Saladin and Crankshaw's (2009) analysis of the Cape Town labour market shows that, between 1980 and 2001, employment growth of low-skilled, elementary occupations was slower than middle-income and high-income occupations together in both relative and absolute terms, and grew only slightly more than middle-income occupations in absolute and relative terms. Therefore, while Cape Town's labour market shows a greater trend towards professionalisation, there is still evidence of limited occupational and income polarisation.

While South Africa is recognised globally for its legislation upholding domestic worker rights, (Marais & van Wyk, 2015: 64), some scholars argue that domestic work in South Africa is an occupation in which workers are still tremendously vulnerable. One could argue, then, that this should make domestic work more attractive to higher-paid professionals who need domestic workers to help sustain their lifestyles, as argued by Sassen (1991). As high-income jobs increase, so should the demand for domestic work. However, the professionalisation of the Cape Town labour market as well as the slow growth rate of domestic work suggests that this is not the case and therefore does not support the social polarisation hypothesis.

It is argued that many domestic workers do not practically have access to the benefits afforded them by the law (Ally, 2006; Dinat & Peberdy, 2007; Nyamnjoh, 2005; Du Preez *et al.*, 2010). These studies differ from the studies conducted by Hertz (2005), Blaauw and Bothma (2010) and Dinkelman and Ranchhod (2012) which argue that the wages and

conditions of employment of domestic workers have improved since the introduction of legislation covering domestic workers. Reasons for these discrepancies may be because, while there has been an improvement in wages and conditions of employment, this has not been enough to empower domestic workers and change their living conditions.

For example, a study done by Du Preez *et al.* (2010) showed that above 50% of the domestic workers in their sample received wages under the minimum wage, only six domestic workers were registered with the UIF, only three of the employers included in their research registered their domestic workers with the UIF, and employers and domestic workers reported flexible working hours. The study found that the wages employers paid their domestic workers was based on employers' personal finances rather than the minimum wage. It also found that domestic workers were in a vulnerable position in the employment relationship and wielded less negotiating power than their employers, which could lead to abuse.

Reasons that domestic workers may experience vulnerability and abuse in the employment relationship include their low education and lack of skills (Dinat & Peberdy, 2007; Marais & van Wyk, 2015), having little knowledge regarding the law covering them (Budlender, 2011), and fear of challenging their wages, hours or working conditions due to the power dynamics of the employment relationship and their weak bargaining position (Marais & van Wyk, 2015; Du Preez *et al.*, 2010). Additionally, because domestic work takes place in private households, it has the potential to develop an intimate, personal nature. This can be seen when employers talk about their domestic workers as being "part of the family" (Budlender, 2011: 3). In these cases, domestic work is sometimes not viewed as actual work. This type of dynamic lends itself to abuse (Du Preez *et al.*, 2010).

The wages that most domestic workers receive are still very low, and domestic workers are not covered by the Compensation for Occupational Injuries and Diseases Act (COIDA). Domestic workers who work less than 24 hours a month are also not included in the BCEA (Du Preez *et al.*, 2010; Western Cape Government, n.d.). This means that with the growth of part-time domestic work, more and more domestic workers are living precarious lives.

Some scholars argue that the poor working conditions and low wages of domestic workers in South Africa are mainly a result of Apartheid, while others argue that these experiences are a result of class dynamics (Ally, 2011). Du Preez *et al.* (2010) argue that domestic work itself is based on an asymmetry of power which lends itself to the disempowerment and abuse of domestic workers. Thus, while the low wages and poor conditions of employment of

domestic worker in South Africa are partly a result of Apartheid, they are also a result of the power dynamics of domestic work as a social structure. This can be seen by the fact that domestic workers around the globe face issues of vulnerability and disempowerment. Other scholars argue, however, that to deny the impact that Apartheid has had on domestic work is to deny the daily experiences of the many black African women in South Africa who still work as domestic workers (Ally, 2011). The literature on domestic work in South Africa clearly argues that domestic workers are still vulnerable, experience poor working conditions and receive low wages.

As stated, one could argue, then, that all this should make domestic work more attractive to higher-paid professionals who need domestic workers to help sustain their lifestyles, as argued by Sassen (1991). As high-income jobs increase, so should the demand for domestic work. However, the professionalisation of the Cape Town labour market as well as the slow growth rate of domestic work suggests that this is not the case and therefore does not support the social polarisation hypothesis. Additionally, the findings of this thesis show that some employers are, in fact, willing to pay their domestic workers above the minimum wage, and are conscious about the precarious, vulnerable position of their domestic workers. However, not all employers in this study were as understanding as others. It is also important to note that the perception of what constitutes a 'fair wage' varied among participants. For example, some participants felt that paying a fair wage meant paying their domestic worker enough to live off, some felt that paying the going rate was fair, and others felt that paying slightly above the minimum wage and including payment-in-kind was fair. Almost all participants felt that the minimum wage was too low.

As stated in earlier paragraphs of this literature review, one of the reasons for the slow growth rate of domestic work is the move to part-time domestic work. The qualitative research for this thesis uncovers causal mechanisms which help to explain some of the reasons for the move towards part-time employment in the domestic worker sector. It also uncovers some findings regarding the working conditions and wages of domestic workers in Cape Town. These findings will be discussed in light of the literature presented above. The methods underpinning the qualitative research are discussed in the section below.

Chapter 2: Research Methods and Ethics

2.1. Design

The purpose of the quantitative research conducted for this thesis is to describe the employment growth rate of domestic work in comparison to the employment growth rate of professional, managerial, and technical and associate professional occupations. Analysis shows that domestic work employment has grown slowly compared to employment in managerial and professional occupations. The slow growth of domestic worker employment can be partly attributed to the growth of part-time domestic work employment. This is because households employing part-time domestic workers tend to share domestic workers unlike households with full-time domestic workers which tend to employ their own domestic workers. This means that there are now fewer domestic workers in the market (Crankshaw, forthcoming). Descriptive statistics were generated after analysing data from the Post-Apartheid Labour Market Series (PALMS) from 1994 to 2015.

The purpose of the qualitative research conducted for this thesis is to uncover the causal mechanisms which explain some of the reasons behind the growth of part-time employment in the domestic worker sector in Cape Town. The qualitative research focusses specifically on employers of domestic workers and the motivations behind their employment practices. Descriptive statistics are used to answer the quantitative research question while a critical realist approach is used for the qualitative research question. A critical realist approach seeks to explain causality through understanding the qualitative properties which create, determine or generate relations and objects. It is argued that because people possess causal powers and agency and because they are qualitatively connected to one another, that causality has to be explained qualitatively. Causality, therefore, is not explained through statistical methods in this thesis, but rather through finding the qualitative properties which create, determine or generate part-time domestic work (Sayer, 2000: 13–14). A more in-depth explanation of causal mechanisms is provided under the ‘data analysis’ section of this chapter.

People who both employed and did not employ domestic workers were interviewed for this thesis and the following questions were investigated:

- What motivates middle-class households to hire domestic workers on a part-time basis?

- What motivates middle-class households to hire domestic workers on a full-time basis?
- What motives middle-class households not hire domestic workers at all?
- Have the minimum wage and other legislation regulating domestic work affected people's hiring practices?
 - Do these regulations affect the hours, living status, and full-time vs part-time status of their domestic workers?
 - Do these regulations affect the decision of whether to hire a domestic worker at all?
- What role does the childhood experience of an employer play in the decision to hire a domestic worker full-time or part-time?

2.2. Sample Design and Data Collection

Because a qualitative approach was used to investigate the reasons behind the growth of part-time domestic worker employment, purposive sampling was used to choose participants for interviews. Unlike statistical methods which require statistically representative samples, purposive sampling requires that participants in the study possess certain characteristics (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). This is because qualitative research methods do not require statistically representative samples (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). While statistical methods explain causality through statistical methods, critical realism explains causality by understanding the qualitative mechanisms which produce social phenomena (Sayer, 1981).

For this study a type of purposive sampling called theoretical sampling was used. When using theoretical sampling, a researcher identifies units of analysis based on their ability to contribute towards the identification and creation of theoretical constructs. Theoretical sampling is a process rather than a once-off event. The researcher selects units of analysis, conducts the research and conducts the analysis. After conducting the analysis, the researcher then selects another sample for analysis. This helps the researcher to hone the theoretical concepts and themes emerging during analysis. It also allows for new themes, insights and theoretical concepts to arise. The researcher continues this process until data saturation is reached. This means that new themes, insights and theoretical concepts are no longer emerging during analysis. Theoretical sampling also requires that comparative analysis be conducted which means that sample groups are compared with one another during analysis (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). The sample groups for this thesis were therefore households which

were identified based on their occupational class. For this thesis, 13 Participants were interviewed. Middle-income households were sought out because these are the types of households which require the services of lower paid, less skilled occupations such as domestic work (Sassen, 1991). Most of the participants interviewed for this thesis came from White middle-class households. However, black African and coloured participants were also interviewed.

Three black African participants from middle-class households were interviewed. One of these households employed a full-time domestic worker, one employed a part-time domestic worker and one did not employ a domestic worker at all. One participant interviewed from a middle-class household identified as Coloured, while his wife was White. His household employed a part-time domestic worker. He had previously employed a full-time domestic worker when his children were young. Eleven participants from White, middle-class households were interviewed. Black African households were interviewed as counterfactual evidence for White middle-class households. The findings for this thesis generally apply to White middle-class households. Where findings come from black African households, it is specifically mentioned.

Three types of households were interviewed. Some households consisted of only one person who either did or did not have children. These have been defined as ‘single headed households’. Some households were dual income households where both partners held professional, managerial, technical or associate professional occupations. Some households consisted of one partner who held a professional, managerial, technical or associate professional occupation while the other was unemployed or held a low-income job. Households which employed part-time domestic workers were interviewed. In order to provide counterfactual evidence, participants from households employing full-time domestic workers as well as no domestic workers at all were also interviewed. A breakdown of the participants’ occupations is displayed in the table below. Because the employment of part-time, full-time or no domestic workers changed throughout the lifecycles of the households interviewed, it would be confusing to try and document this in table format. This is therefore dealt with in greater detail in the findings section.³

³ For more in-depth information on the participants, please refer to the appendix.

Table 1: Single headed households

| | |
|--------------------------|---|
| Participant 4 | |
| Participant's occupation | Sales consultant for a firm in the Non Destructive Testing Industry |
| Participant 7 | |
| Participant's occupation | Pharmacist Assistant |
| | |
| Participant 9 | |
| Participant's occupation | Lecturer |
| Participant 11 | |
| Participant's occupation | Assistant Policy and Strategy Researcher |
| Participant 13 | |
| Participant's occupation | Policy Researcher |

Table 2: Households where both partners held professional or managerial occupations

| | |
|--------------------------|--|
| Participant 1 | |
| Participant's occupation | Innkeeper at Airbnb |
| Partner's occupation | Consultant Paediatric Surgeon at Red Cross |
| Participant 2 | |
| Participant's occupation | Clinical Research Coordinator |
| Partner's occupation | Financial controller |
| Participant 6 | |
| Participant's occupation | Senior Account Manager |
| Partner's occupation | Marketing |
| Participant 8 | |
| Participant's occupation | Chef |
| Partner's occupation | Interior Designer |
| Participant 12 | |
| Participant's occupation | Administration |
| Partner's occupation | Business Intelligence IT |

Table 3: Households where one partner was a professional or manager while the other had no job or held a low-income job

| | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Participant 3 | |
| Participant's occupation | Not employed |
| Partner's occupation | Quantity surveyor |
| Participant 5 | |
| Participant's occupation | Homemaker [unpaid work at home] |
| Partner's occupation | General Manager |
| Participant 10 | |
| Participant's occupation | Lecturer |
| Partner's occupation | Waitress |

Semi-structured, face-to-face interviews were conducted for this thesis. Because the researcher had some broad questions in mind before interviewing the participants, key

questions were drawn up in an interview schedule. Different questions were drawn up for participants who did not employ domestic workers, while similar questions were drawn up for participants with part-time and full-time domestic workers. The researcher, however, employed flexibility in the way these questions were posed and the order in which questions were asked. Probing questions were also posed during these interviews. The purpose of the semi-structured interviews was not only to collect information on the key questions which the researcher had initially drawn up, but to allow new questions to emerge which in turn would lead to new answers. This helped the researcher to form new concepts during the process. After the initial interviews were analysed, follow-up questions were identified and follow-up interviews were conducted. Follow-up interviews were conducted with nine of the participants. Some of the follow-up interviews were conducted face to face, while others were conducted via email. Not all participants could be reached for follow-up interviews. Enough relevant information was collected, however, to provide in-depth, qualitative explanations related to the research question.

2.3. Ethics

During the course of the research, the researcher was conscious to do no harm to any participant or their domestic worker. Every effort was made to ensure that participants felt comfortable during the interview process. Participants were not coerced to participate and were not forced to answer any questions which they were not comfortable with. The privacy of participants was also respected. Participants were promised that they would remain anonymous. The researcher also ensured that any domestic workers mentioned during the interview process remained anonymous. For this reason, all names used in the transcripts or interpretations of transcripts were substituted by pseudonyms. Participants were asked for informed consent before interviews were conducted and analysed. Before receiving informed consent, the researcher promised the participants anonymity, explained the aims of the research, and described the interview process. The researcher did this upon requesting the interview and before beginning each interview. Participants then signed a consent form.⁴ The form included information on the research and requests informed consent from each participant for the interview, for the interview to be recorded, and for the information from the interview to be used for this thesis.

⁴ For a sample of this consent form, please see the appendix.

2.4. Data Analysis

The framework method was used to analyse the qualitative information gathered from the interviews and follow-up interviews for this thesis. In addition, a critical realist approach was used to interpret and synthesise the themes emerging from analysis. An explanation of how the framework method and critical realist approach was used is provided below.

The framework method is a form of thematic analysis. It was developed by the National Centre for Social Research in the 1980s. The framework method provides qualitative researchers with a transparent, rigorous way of managing and analysing qualitative data. It also allows researchers with a way to move between the different stages of analysis without getting lost. This is because everything is documented and always maintains a connection to the ‘raw’ data (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). The framework method is a process which consists of five different, but interconnected, steps:

1. Familiarisation;
2. Identifying a thematic framework;
3. Indexing;
4. Charting; and
5. Mapping and interpretation.

(Bryman & Burgess, 2002)

While following these steps, the researcher documented each stage of the process in a logical and transparent way. This provided a way for the researcher to rework and reconsider certain ideas without confusion during analysis. Although the steps of framework are discussed separately below, these steps often overlapped during actual analysis.

The first step, familiarisation, involves becoming acquainted with the qualitative information collected (Bryman & Burgess, 2002). The researcher, therefore, immersed herself in the information collected during the interviews. This meant listening to recordings after they had been transcribed and correcting any mistakes in the transcripts. It also meant reading the transcripts and notes more than once and commenting on the transcripts.

The second step, identifying a thematic framework, involves identifying important concepts, issues and themes which will help the researcher begin analysing the qualitative data. Often, many of these themes and concepts emerge during the familiarisation process described

above (Bryman & Burgess, 2002; Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). At this stage, therefore, the researcher identified key themes under which information from each transcript could be placed. Key themes were identified by first developing a list of issues covered by the interviews which were guided by the main research question. As the researcher familiarised herself with the data, the list was adjusted to reflect new themes. The list was further adjusted as the researcher moved on to the next two stages.

The third step, indexing, involves applying the themes which have been identified to the qualitative information being analysed. This means that the themes are used to categorise information (Bryman & Burgess, 2002; Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). The researcher, therefore, systematically applied the themes that had been identified, to each transcript. The themes, which were used to index the transcripts at this stage, were broad, overarching themes. The themes, or index, provided a way for information to be labelled and organised into manageable pieces which could then be explored in more detail. These themes did not end up exactly reflecting the final list of themes and causal mechanisms found in the results section, as these were developed as a result of the more detailed analysis which followed this stage.

An example of how the information was indexed can be seen in the illustration below. As can be seen in the example, each piece of the transcript was ascribed a theme which is indicated by the colourful lines on the right hand side. Some pieces of the transcript were ascribed more than one theme. NVIVO software provided a way for the researcher to access each theme individually and recall all the information from the transcript which was placed into that particular theme.

Figure 3: An example of how information was indexed on NVIVO software

The screenshot displays a transcript from Participant 14 and an interviewer. The transcript text is as follows:

Participant 14: No. I used to know like how much it would cost them to get in. I think our previous one...she paid, I think it was R20.00, but I can't, I don't know the current one.

Interviewer: It's okay. Uh, do you have a... Oh, do you also provide your domestic worker with payment in kind, like lunches etcetera or does she bring her own lunch?

Participant 14: I put out. Well, there's always bread in the house, so there's bread and there's peanut butter and then I told her if she wants jam or anything, she can make herself some bread. Um, it was kind of, um, a question of, you know, we could give you a bit less and then give you lunch or we give you more and then we give you bread if you want to make toast or whatever so, and then she opted for getting a bit more and then just having bread. Um, I think she does bring herself some lunch sometimes, cause she doesn't always have bread, I know that. And then, uh whatever fruit we have in the house, I put out fruit for her too.

On the right side of the transcript, there is a vertical list of themes with corresponding colored lines indicating which segments of the transcript are indexed to each theme:

- Employee Details
- Dwelling Type
- Childhood Experiences
- Children
- Other
- The Role of Government Regulation
- Employment Relationship and History
- Coding Density

The fourth step, charting, involves taking the data and creating thematic charts or matrices. These charts help depict the scope of the different themes (Bryman & Burgess, 2002: 182). They are also a useful tool in helping the researcher to analyse the data in more depth. At this stage, the researcher begins to distil, summarise and interpret participants' experiences and views, always referencing the verbatim text (Bryman & Burgess, 2002; Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). In order to chart the information, the researcher took all the information under each theme and arranged it in a way which could then be analysed systematically. This was done on Excel. Each transcript was assigned its own excel sheet. Each theme was given its own tab on Excel where all the data falling under that theme was arranged. The data was arranged under the following headings on each tab:

- **Pg/Line:** The page and line in the transcript where each quotation could be found were placed in cells under this heading.
- **Context:** Information which gave each quotation a context, such as the question preceding the quotation, was placed in cells under this heading.
- **Quote:** Quotations from the participant were placed in cells under this heading.
- **Comments/Observations:** Any thoughts related to the quotation were placed in cells under this heading. The researcher summarised the quotation in her own words and also made comments in light of the research question.
- **Categories/themes:** By using the comments, relevant sub-themes related to the quotation were created and placed in cells under this heading. If no relevant sub-themes could be derived from the quotation, this was noted.

The analysis done during the charting stage was still preliminary. More in-depth analysis took place at the next stage. An example of how information was charted can be seen in the illustration below.

Figure 4: An example of how information was charted on excel

| Pg/line | Context | Quote | Comments/ Observations | Categories /Themes |
|---|--|---|--|-----------------------|
| Theme: Conditions of employment and household lifecycle needs. | | | | |
| Explanation: This theme describes how a household's lifecycle needs affects their domestic worker's conditions of employment | | | | |
| Participant 5_ Transcript 1 | | | | |
| pg1/6-11 | Um, can you tell me about your relationship with your domestic worker? | Oh, very good. She was part of the family. Ja, no, we loved her. She worked for many years... she worked... for... for my mom and dad, for us, at home, and then after we got married, she came to work for us, and she helped to raise the kids. So, she's been with us, then, those years I think maybe ten to fifteen years. | Participant's childhood domestic worker was 'part of the family'. While she lived in Gauteng, the participant's childhood domestic worker worked for her own household when she got married. She helped to raise the children. She was with the household for 10 - 15 years. | Children |

The fifth step, mapping and interpretation, involves synthesising and interpreting the data which has been charted. There are many different ways which this can be done. The researcher may wish to create typologies, develop strategies, define concepts, find associations, provide explanations or map the range and nature of phenomena (Bryman & Burgess, 2002). At this step, analysis of the data collected for this thesis took on two distinct stages. First, after a transcript had been charted, an interpretation of it would be written up in the form of a 'mini findings' document. This meant taking the comments and preliminary sub-themes under each broad theme and writing these up in a coherent way for each participant. This process involved further reworking themes and sub-themes and reassessing which information was or was not relevant to the research question. Secondly, once all the transcripts had been interpreted this way, a critical realist approach was employed to create evidence-based 'ideal types' or mental constructs of causal mechanisms. This approach will be explained in more detail in the paragraphs below. Before moving to this final stage of analysis, however, follow-up interviews were conducted after the 'mini findings' of each transcript were complete. The same process (the framework method) was used for these follow-up interviews.

As stated above, a critical realist approach was used to synthesise all the information which had been interpreted up to this point. The logic of retrodution was used as a way to do this.

Retroduction is a method of reasoning which leads one to discover causal powers, mechanisms and liabilities behind the relations and objects being studied. In other words, retroduction seeks to develop concepts explaining the tendencies of objects being studied. Because critical realism considers the social phenomena being studied to be chiefly relational, retroduction means endeavouring to understand the internal relations which explain the social phenomena under study (Danermark, Ekström, Jakobsen & Karlsson, 2002: 96–106). In order to do this, evidence-based ideal types or mental constructs of the causal mechanisms were created from the information gathered. An explanation of ideal types, causal mechanisms and social relations is provided below. In order to describe an ideal type, or mental construct, it is necessary to first describe the logic of abstraction in critical realist terms. Abstraction is the process by which one constructs a theory or concept to explain one part or aspect of a concrete or real object (Sayer, 2010: 59). A concrete object is a complex synthesis of diverse processes and definitions. In order to understand a concrete object, it is necessary, therefore, to isolate its different aspects in thought, even if they would never occur alone in reality. It is possible for the thought object to correspond to reality although it is also possible for a thought object not to correspond to reality, even if it is believed to be true (Sayer, 2010: 59). Through the logic of abstraction, good concepts or mental constructs/ideal types can be created which will correspond to reality by accurately isolating necessary relationships and describing causal powers (Baert, 2005: 46; Sayer, 2010: 59–79). Necessary relationships and causality will be expounded on below.

Causality, in critical realism, is not proved by using statistical correlations and statistical significance as a means to explain or predict things. Rather, it is about finding qualitative properties which create, determine or generate relations and objects. These properties have causal powers and liabilities that can be involved in causal mechanisms. In other words, causal powers, mechanisms and liabilities are causes of an objects' behaviour. For example, labour power and reproduction are causal powers or mechanisms which people can choose to exercise. Likewise, vulnerability to social pressure is an example of a causal liability. Causal powers, mechanisms and liabilities are therefore derived from their objects' natures. They are not always exercised or activated, although they exist. As such, causal powers can be used to explain the reasons behind statistical regularities and patterns, not vice versa (Sayer, 2010: 70–79). Causal powers are often not reducible to individual objects, but are dependent on their social relations (Sayer, 2010: 71). It is important to differentiate between contingent, external relations and necessary, internal relations. External relations are relations in which objects can exist without each other. Internal relations are relations in which objects are

dependent on each other for their existence. Internal relations can be asymmetric, where one object is dependent on the other for its existence, but not the other way around. Causal mechanisms in internal relations are often activated by external, contingent relations (Sayer, 2010: 59–65).

Abstraction, therefore, can be used to identify social structures with their necessary, internal relations and to form ideal types of the causal powers, mechanisms, and liabilities which produce the relations (Sayer, 2010). Thus, abstraction involves investigating the following questions:

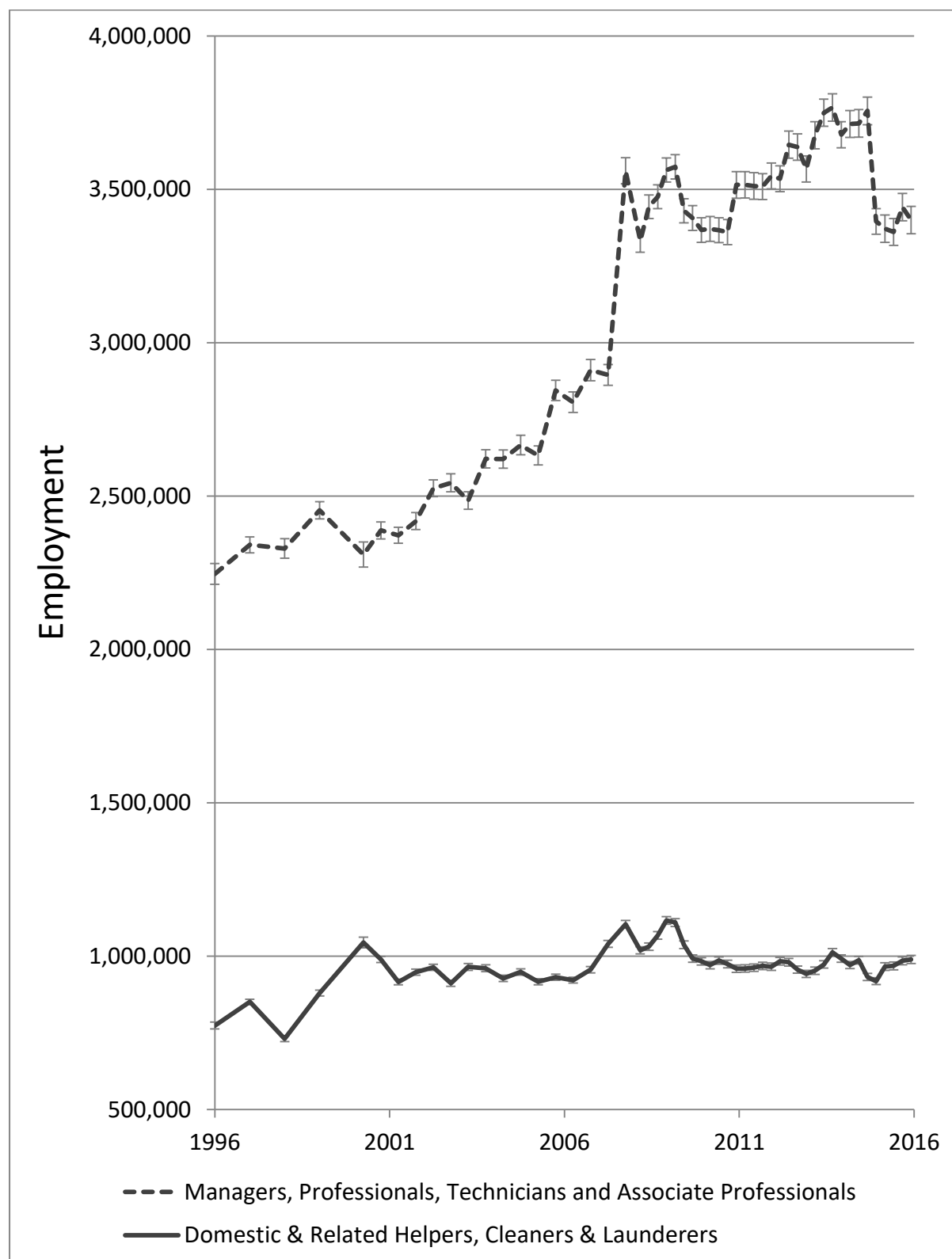
1. Why does a certain object exist as it is? For example, what makes up or constitutes part-time domestic work?
2. What makes the object behave in certain ways – what are its causal mechanisms and liabilities? For example, what causes middle-class households to employ part-time domestic work?

(Sayer, 2010)

Chapter 3: Findings

As stated above, the purpose of the quantitative research was to analyse the growth rate of domestic worker employment as compared to the growth rate of employment in high-income jobs. High-income jobs include managerial, professional, and technical occupations (Borel-Saladin and Crankshaw, 2009). Managerial occupations here are defined as jobs which are occupied by legislators, senior officials and managers. Technical occupations are defined as jobs which are occupied by technicians and associate professionals. Domestic workers are defined as domestic helpers and cleaners – code 9131 from PALMS data (International Labour Office, 2018: 19–20). Data between 1996 and 2015 was analysed because no data for domestic helpers and cleaners was provided for between 1993 and 1995. Analysis showed that domestic worker employment grew at a slower rate than employment of professional, managerial and technical occupations.

Figure 5: Employment growth of managers, professionals, technical and associate professionals and domestic workers. ‘Error bars indicate the 95% confidence interval’⁵



⁵ Author's Analysis of the Post-Apartheid Labour Market Series Data Files, DataFirst Research Unit, University of Cape Town

As stated earlier, the purpose of the qualitative research conducted for this thesis was to uncover the causal mechanisms which explain some of the reasons behind the growth of part-time employment of domestic workers in Cape Town. The qualitative research focussed specifically on employers of domestic workers and the motivations behind their employment practices. Semi-structured interviews were therefore conducted with people who employed part-time domestic workers in Cape Town. In order to provide counterfactual evidence, people who employed full-time domestic workers and people who did not employ domestic workers at all were also interviewed. This chapter is divided into four main sections which discuss the following:

1. The causal mechanisms explaining middle-class households' decisions to employ part-time domestic workers;
2. The causal mechanisms explaining middle-class households' decisions to employ full-time domestic workers;
3. The causal mechanisms explaining middle-class households' decisions not to hire domestic workers; and
4. The connections/linkages between these three sections and the growth of part-time domestic work in the light of the evidence presented.

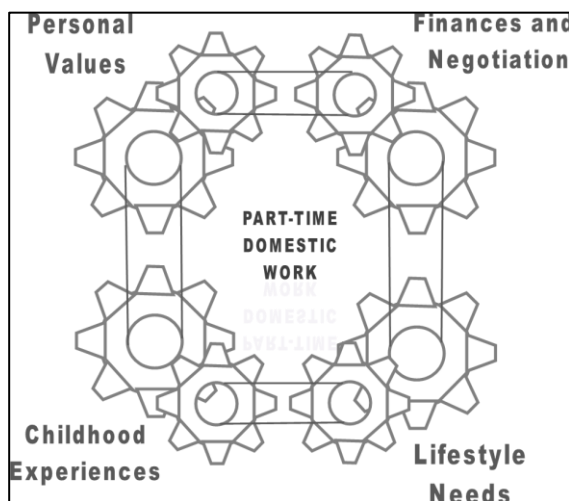
3.1. Part-Time Domestic Work

During analysis of the interviews conducted with employers of part-time domestic workers, four main areas or themes emerged, namely (1) personal values, (2) personal finances, (3) childhood experiences, and (4) lifestyle needs. Within each theme, causal mechanisms explaining why participants chose to employ part-time domestic workers were identified.

Part-time domestic employment is a social structure. It consists of necessary, internal relations between the employer and the domestic worker. Internal relations are relations in which objects are dependent on each other for their existence (Sayer, 2010: 59–79). This means that in order for part-time domestic employment to exist, certain properties or causal mechanisms need to be present. For example, the need for assistance when members of a household have health-related issues may require that household to employ a part-time domestic worker. Causal mechanisms are therefore useful in helping us understand why certain middle-class households in certain circumstances choose to have part-time domestic workers.

The picture below illustrates this in terms of cogs in a machine. The causal mechanisms can be seen as cogs which, when activated, work together to produce the structural relationship of part-time domestic employment. The cogs are separated into groups representing the different themes which emerged during analysis.

Figure 6: A representation of the causal mechanisms behind part-time domestic work



Information from the interviews with Participants 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11 and 12 has been analysed and will be presented in this section of the findings chapter.⁶ Since many of the participants in this study had hired part-time, full-time or no domestic workers at different times of their lives, information on individual participants was analysed and included in different sections of the findings chapter. For example, information from interviews with Participants 3 and 6 was used for this section as well as the section on full-time domestic workers. Information from Participant 8 was used for all the sections of the findings chapter. Only participants' relationships with part-time domestic workers will be focussed on in this section.

Many of the households interviewed for this thesis were not up to date on the regulations covering domestic workers, especially the minimum wage. Of the 9 participants interviewed who had hired part-time domestic workers, only two took the minimum wage and UIF regulations into consideration in their employment agreement with their domestic workers. All the participants interviewed who had hired part-time domestic workers, however, paid their domestic workers above the minimum wage. There also seemed to be some confusion

⁶ For detailed information on the specifics of the employment relationships between individual participants and their domestic workers and information on the participants themselves, please refer to the appendix.

and/or ignorance regarding other government regulations that cover part-time domestic workers in South Africa. For example, most of the participants felt that they did not need to have written contracts with their domestic workers if they worked only part-time. Only two participants had contracts with their part-time domestic workers.

The fact that all these participants paid above the minimum wage and the fact that most lacked knowledge concerning the minimum wage showed that they had motivating factors other than government regulations behind the wages and working hours of their domestic workers. The one exception was Participant 1 who employed his domestic worker less than 24 hours a month at first in order to avoid legislation. He eventually decided to increase her hours and wages, however, which meant that factors other than government regulations also ended up influencing his domestic worker's hours and wages.

It is important to note, therefore, that when participants cited finances as one of the reasons behind the wages they paid their domestic workers or the reason why they decided to hire part-time domestic workers instead of full-time domestic workers, this financial decision was not influenced by the minimum wage or by government regulations. The following motivating factors played a role in the working hours of these households' domestic workers and the wages that they paid them.

3.1.1. Theme 1: Personal Values

Some of the households in this study felt that they could only afford to hire their domestic workers part-time. Their understanding of the affordability of part-time vs full-time domestic work was influenced by their personal values instead of government regulations. This theme deals with the personal values of participants and the next theme deals with the participants' finances in more detail. Analysis revealed two types of personal values which acted as causal mechanisms:

1. The desire to pay a fair wage and consider the financial needs of their domestic worker; and/or
2. A feeling of personal responsibility for one's domestic worker,

The desire to consider the financial needs of one's domestic worker

Analysis showed that some middle-class households desire to pay their part-time domestic workers a 'fair' wage that ensures that they receive enough money to help sustain themselves

and their families. These households use their own criteria for what they believe to be a 'fair wage' rather than the minimum wage to help guide them in deciding the wages of their part-time domestic workers. This is, of course, subjective. Different households will use different criteria to determine what kind of lifestyle factors and expenses they feel their domestic worker's wage should cover and what would be fair. For example, one household in this study did research to ascertain the monthly salary a domestic worker would need in order to survive. From that, they worked out an hourly rate for their part-time domestic worker. This household paid its domestic worker R35 an hour and hired her twice a week. This was far above the minimum wage at the time which was R12,42 an hour. This household was strongly motivated to do this by personal, religious and political values.

Some middle-class households are very aware of the vulnerable position of their part-time domestic workers and the power dynamics within the employment relationship. The two households in this study which showed this awareness were both White and black African. They specifically expressed the desire to avoid taking advantage of their part-time domestic workers. One way these households actively tried to avoid paying their domestic workers a low wage was by not hiring them through domestic worker agencies. They explained that when they first tried to use these agencies, their domestic workers would receive only a small portion of the money they provided to these agencies. They felt that this was unfair. Some middle-class households are, in fact, reluctant to hire domestic workers at all, because they are uncomfortable with the power dynamics of the employment relationship. While some households never end up hiring a domestic worker (this will be dealt with later on), others eventually decide to hire at least a part-time domestic worker because of lifestyle needs.

Analysis also showed that some middle-class households will not go as far as to work out how much their domestic worker would need to sustain their lifestyle, but will take things such as transport costs and meals into consideration. In this study, these households paid their domestic workers between R200 and R300 a day. These types of households consider things such as transport costs and the fact that their part-time domestic worker may need unofficial paid leave. They also may provide their part-time domestic workers with payment in kind such as food, clothing, old furniture etc.

For some middle-class households, the fact that they are taking their domestic workers' needs into consideration when calculating their wages means that they can only afford to employ them part-time. For others, finances are not a problem and their decision to hire their

domestic workers part-time is influenced by other factors which are discussed in paragraphs below. In either situation, the motivation behind the wages these households pay their domestic workers is not the minimum wage.

Participant 1 *“I think it [the minimum wage] should be based on good academic research as to what the living wage for a family is, and then an appropriate hourly wage should be calculated from there...it is important to pay someone enough to live and eat without stressing where their next meal will be coming from (or how to cope in other economic areas of their life).”*

Participant 11 Concerning the choice to stop using a domestic worker hiring agency: *“I’m so angry...because we paid about three hundred for three hours [to an agency] ...and she [the domestic worker] told us that she gets paid R25.00 an hour...I’m not gonna ever use the company again. I’m gonna use her independently.”*

Feeling personally responsible for one’s domestic worker

Another factor which influences the wage which middle-class households pay their domestic workers is the feeling of responsibility towards their domestic workers. In addition to the wage they pay their domestic workers, they may try to financially assist their domestic workers when they face a financial crisis. They may even ask the domestic workers’ other employers to provide assistance.

Participant 2 *“I think, in a way, we kind of feel personally responsible for her when she does work for us and I know that our neighbours also hire her. So, whenever something goes wrong we all kind of chip in and try and help her as best as we can.”*

3.1.2. Theme 2: Personal finances

For some middle-class households, the decision to hire part-time domestic workers is a financial decision. Analysis revealed three causal mechanisms influencing the financial decision of households to hire part-time instead of full-time domestic workers.

1. The personal finances of the employer;
2. The negotiating power of domestic workers; and

3. The influence of the going rate of payment in a household's area

Personal Finances of the Employer

For some middle-class households, personal finances are a motivating factor behind what they pay their domestic workers and the fact that they employ them on a part-time basis. Some households in this study wanted to pay their domestic workers more, but stated that they were not able to do so. When asked what they felt the minimum wage should be, these households generally felt that a fair daily wage for a domestic worker should be between R250 - R300 and a monthly wage should be between R4,000 and R5,000. Many of these households paid just below the daily rate which they felt would be fair. For example, one household paid its domestic worker R200 a day, but felt that a fair daily rate would be R300.

For other households, however, the amount of money they pay their domestic worker is not linked to the part-time status of their domestic workers. For example, one participant explained that he would be willing to pay his domestic worker a maximum of R4,000 a month regardless of whether she worked full-time or part-time for his household. If the minimum wage increased so that he would have to pay her more, he would reduce her hours but not her salary. This participant was financially able to hire his domestic worker full-time, but felt he did not need her to work for him full-time. This shows that for some middle-class households, finances play a role in the wages they pay their part-time domestic workers, but not in their decision to hire their domestic workers part-time.

Participant 2 *“So, what motivated us to have Miriam there part-time, was, one, we couldn't afford to have her in every day.”*

The negotiating power of domestic workers

Some middle-class households decide on their domestic worker's wages through negotiating the price with them. The wages they pay their domestic workers, however, can also be influenced by their personal finances. For example, one participant explained that her domestic worker asked for R200 a day. She was happy to pay this because she felt that this was all she could afford at the time. While this was above the minimum wage at the time, it is still a low wage. This shows that while, initially, domestic workers have some influence over the wages they are paid, the ultimate decision still lies in the hands of the employer. This limits the negotiating power that domestic workers ultimately have.

Participant 2 *“Um, we chose for her that amount [the R200 wage she paid her] because that is how much she asked for per day. So, we asked her what was her fee and that was what she had stipulated.”*

Participant 2 Concerning how much she felt the minimum wage should be: *“For a full day, I’d say a minimum of R300.00.”*

The influence of the going rate of payment in a household’s area

Households are also influenced by the going rate for domestic workers in their areas. For example, one participant felt that the wage her household was paying its domestic worker was fair because she was receiving the same amount of money for working a full day at another employer’s larger apartment. Another participant seemed to base his idea of a ‘good fee’ for a domestic worker off his comparison with what other people pay their domestic workers. A third participant explained that the main factor which influenced his wage for his domestic worker was his relationship with the friend from whom he ‘borrowed’ his domestic worker’s services. The participant explained that he paid his domestic worker what he did because that was the wage his friend paid her. He also explained that he would decide on his domestic worker’s annual increase after discussing it with this friend.

Participant 2 Concerning why she paid her domestic worker R200 a day: *“Also, because...our domestic at the time was, um, cleaning our neighbour’s house and it was bigger than ours and they were paying her the same amount, and she spent less time at our place then she did by them. So, it seemed fair.”*

Participant 4: *“The way I see it is...I give her more than the normal rate...if I’m correct, because if I speak to people, some of the people pay their domestic workers a hundred and fifty rand a day, which I think is terrible. So, I give her... a good fee, food and I even give her taxi or bus fair over and above. So, she couldn’t complain that I was not giving her enough.”*

3.1.3. Theme 3: Childhood Experiences

Childhood experiences play a role in middle-class households’ thoughts and feelings concerning their domestic workers. These childhood experiences specifically influence the values which determine the wages they pay their domestic workers and their desire to eventually have a full-time, live-in domestic worker if they do not already have one. Analysis

of interviews with participants who had part-time domestic workers revealed two types of childhood experiences which acted as causal mechanisms:

1. The influence of childhood experiences on employers' personal values; and
2. The impact of relationships with childhood domestic workers on current relationships.

The influence of childhood experiences on employers' personal values

Some individuals in middle-class households are influenced by their parents' political views. For example, one participant pointed out how his parents' political views affected the way he views people, including domestic workers, as an adult. He felt that, because his parents' political views fell left of the political spectrum, he was taught the value of respect. The participant also explained that his mother was a good role model. He felt that the way his mother treated her domestic workers influenced the way he treats his own domestic workers as an adult. It is clear that this participant's personal values were heavily influenced by his childhood experiences. This, in turn, affected the wage which he paid his current domestic worker.

Participant 1 *“Um, my parents were always on the...left of the political spectrum, so we were taught to respect all people no matter their skin colour. Um, but also the way my parents treated domestic workers gave us a model of how to, um, treat people...”*

The impact of relationships with childhood domestic workers on current relationships

The desire to have a full-time, live-in domestic worker is also influenced by childhood experiences. Participants in this study who formed close bonds with their childhood domestic workers tended to desire employing full-time, live-in domestic workers as adults. For example, one of the participants pointed out that, as a child, he was expected to obey his mother's domestic workers who were given the responsibility of looking after him. The participant also described how he developed a very close bond with one of his mother's domestic workers. This particular domestic worker carried him on her back for the first two years of his life. His bond with this particular domestic worker was so strong, that when he was older, he remembered crying after the family received a letter from the domestic worker telling them that she had broken her arm. He explained that, because this domestic worker played such a prominent role in his upbringing, he would consider having a domestic worker

double up as an *au pair* when or if he and his wife decided to have children. He would also be willing to consider having a domestic worker live in the house with the family. Another participant also made it clear that she would consider employing a full-time, live-in domestic worker at some point in her life. She attributed this openness to having a full-time, live-in domestic worker to her experience of having a live-in domestic worker at home as a child. However, she was not open to letting a domestic worker work as an *au pair* when or if she decided to have children.

Participant 1 *“I grew up with a domestic worker living on our properties and it was a natural phenomenon to me. It was a good experience for me as a child, and I hope my children can experience it too...I think, from my own upbringing, um, having had our domestic worker play such a prominent role in my upbringing, for me, it makes more sense to have a domestic worker/au pair than have a domestic worker and then a separate au pair. Um, and I think, also, we want to make sure that our children can speak Xhosa and things like that...”*

Participant 2 When asked why she would consider having a live-in domestic worker: *“I grew up with a live in domestic...”*

Participant 2 Concerning whether she would hire a domestic worker as a nanny and why: *“No, because it’s not her responsibility... A nanny is different to a domestic worker. I think nannies, in that sense, are trained to deal with a child. Domestic workers, I think the liability is so great because you’re asking someone who cleans a house to look after a baby, and I find that wrong.”*

3.1.4. Theme 4: Lifestyle Needs

One of the main factors influencing the duties, wages, hours/ part-time status of domestic workers in this study were the lifecycle and lifestyle needs of middle-class households.

Analysis revealed four types of lifecycle needs which acted as causal mechanisms:

1. The effect of having children and the need for childcare;
2. The effect of the employment of household members on domestic workers’ hours of work;

3. The health of employers and its effect on the hours and duties of their domestic workers; and
4. The effect that the size of housing has on the hours and wages of domestic workers.

The effect of having children and the need for childcare

Households with children that employ part-time domestic workers do not generally expect their domestic workers to look after their children. This study found that households with children that employ part-time domestic workers do so for three reasons. Firstly, the decision to hire part-time domestic work may be motivated by financial constraints. Households may want to hire a full-time domestic worker to help look after the children, but cannot afford to do so. Secondly, households may feel that their house or apartment is too small to warrant hiring a full-time domestic worker. Thirdly, households may hire two part-time domestic workers instead of one full-time domestic worker. The household in this study which made this decision did so for the following reasons. The mother in the household was looking for a domestic worker which would be good with children. However, the domestic workers she found had other part-time jobs elsewhere. She therefore decided to hire them both on a part-time basis on different days. Thus, the unavailability of full-time domestic workers may force households to adapt by hiring more than one part-time domestic worker.

Participant 9 *“I have nobody working for me at the moment. I do all my own domestic work. I live on my own so it's very easy to do, but certainly when my twins were born, which was 1989, um, I then, it was very important for me, cause I was working at the same time. Then I had the twins and went straight back to work. So I employed, there were two different domestic workers doing different shifts for a while, ja...Both already had part-time jobs elsewhere. One for just one day a week elsewhere and I hired her for the other four days. The second had two days elsewhere and I hired her for the other three days. It meant I had someone at home all days of the week.”*

The effect of the employment of household members on their domestic workers' hours

Another causal mechanism which affects the part-time status of domestic workers in middle-class households is household employment. Some households need a domestic worker because the household members do not have enough time to do household chores. Other households, particularly households with only one member, choose to hire part-time domestic

workers instead of full-time domestic workers because their jobs keep them away from home on an extended basis. Because they are away on business trips, a full-time domestic worker is not necessary. Other households need a part-time domestic worker to look after their pets while they are away working.

Participant 4 *“I see it [his agreement with his domestic worker] as casual labour...it’s a verbal agreement whereby, if and when needed, I’ll give her call in advance, and if she’s available she’ll come in and clean the house. Based on that she will get payment... I mean, some months, like in October, I was away for the whole month.”*

The health of employers and its effect on the hours and duties of their domestic workers

One of the causal mechanisms behind the hours and duties of domestic workers employed in middle-class households is the health of household members. For example, one participant explained that because he and his wife had very ‘taxing hours’ at work, they not only needed to increase their domestic worker’s hours, they also let her cook dinner for them. However, he and his wife changed their diet because their energy levels were too low. They therefore decided to eat food with a lower Glycaemic Index. Because their diet changed, they no longer needed their domestic worker to cook for them. Another participant’s decision to hire her part-time domestic worker was motivated by her having a back operation. She decided to hire her domestic worker to help her in the house while she recovered. Although she stayed with her mother, she felt that her mother could not cope with the housework alone while the participant was recovering. Once she had recovered, she no longer hired a domestic worker at all.

Participant 1 *“...we... got somebody in to do... cooking training, and she [the domestic worker] can cook, and she’s not bad at all, but I think that the recipes that she was taught ... Sharon [the wife] and I changed our diet, and so all of the recipes she was taught were wrong... We might consider it again actually.”*

Participant 7 *“It was about two, three months, after my back op [operation]. I had somebody coming in to help because my mom couldn’t do everything alone, um, and it was nice just having somebody there.”*

The effect that the size of housing has on the hours and wages of domestic workers

One of the reasons that some middle-class households do not employ full-time domestic workers is because they feel that their house or apartment is too small. Many of these households feel that hiring a domestic worker part-time is enough to keep their homes clean. Some state that if they had a large enough home, they would be willing to have a live-in domestic worker. However, the definition of what a large or small house is seems to be based more on family dynamics and preferences rather than the actual size of the house. For example, one of the households in this study had a large home, but still felt that it would not be able to accommodate a live-in domestic worker. This household's property was 960 square meters. The house and the garden flat together were 196 square meters. The house itself had three bedrooms, two bathrooms, a kitchen, a scullery, a lounge and a dining room. While the house itself was large, the household felt that it would not be able to accommodate its domestic worker and her family, especially since the household was planning to have an in-law stay in the house. Additionally, the household planned to make more money by renting out the garden flat. Another household explained that the apartment they were renting had two bedrooms and, including the balcony, was 60 square meters. If they had enough space and money to hire a full-time domestic worker, they would consider asking her to live-in. However, they would not want their domestic worker to live in the house with the family, but have her own place on the property. This would ensure that the domestic worker would not feel like she is "living at her job". Another household in the study explained that the property the family was renting had three bedrooms, two bathrooms, a double garage and a yard. The property did not have a garden flat or room. The participant interviewed from this household explained that if everyone in the house was working and the house was large enough, he would consider having a live-in domestic worker. Yet another household reported living in a town house which had two bedrooms and no private yard. This household was willing to consider having a domestic worker live on the property if the house had the "capabilities". This meant that if the property included a room or flat outside the house, the family would consider having a domestic worker live there.

Participant 2 *"Um, for me to choose to have a live-in domestic worker, I would need a bigger place to motivate for that. I would need a better income so that I could pay a proper salary, um and UIF for full-time employment, all of that, and have living quarters so that they could also live on the property with us."*

Participant 12 *“Well, our current property doesn’t allow for that at all [to have a live-in domestic worker], but, um, if we one day did have a house that has the, like capabilities for us to do that, that would be something that I would consider, yes.”*

3.1.5. Discussion

As previously stated, analysis of the interviews conducted with participants for this thesis showed that many participants were not up to date on the regulations covering domestic workers, especially the minimum wage. Of the 9 participants interviewed who had hired part-time domestic workers, only two took the minimum wage and UIF regulations into consideration in their employment relationship with their domestic workers. All the participants interviewed who had hired part-time domestic workers, however, paid their domestic workers above the minimum wage. The fact that all the participants paid above the minimum wage and the fact that most lacked knowledge of what the minimum wage was shows that they had motivating factors outside of government regulations influencing the wages and hours of their domestic workers.

This is relevant to the academic discussion around the impact of the minimum wage and other legislation on the wages and hours of domestic workers. Hertz (2005) argues that, as a result of the introduction of the minimum wage in 2002, domestic workers’ hourly and monthly wages increased while their hours per week and employment numbers decreased. However, he argues that domestic workers are still paid extremely low wages. His study also shows that since the introduction of legislation in the domestic worker sector, many domestic workers have been registered with the UIF but not many unemployed domestic workers have been paid UIF benefits. More employers have also provided their domestic workers with paid leave, written contracts and pensions. Dinkelman and Ranchhod (2012) also argue that after 2002, domestic workers’ wages rose. However, their study differs from Hertz (2005) in that it shows that there has been no decline in employment and hours of work in the domestic work sector. They also argue that domestic workers’ conditions of employment improved since 2002 (Dinkelman & Ranchhod, 2012). Blaauw and Bothma (2010) argue that in Bloemfontein, domestic worker wages have increased and employers’ adherence to legislation regarding their domestic workers has improved. Unlike Hertz (2005) and Dinkelman and Ranchhod (2012), however, they argue that the increase in domestic workers’ wages happened between 1997 and 2001, before the introduction of the minimum wage.

They attribute this to the desire by employers to prepare themselves for the implementation of the new minimum wage law in 2002. They did this by reducing the hours of their domestic workers while increasing their wages per hour which led to an increase in part-time domestic work. As domestic workers began to work for multiple employers, they began to earn more money than when they had worked full-time. Blaauw and Bothma (2010) argue that between 1997 and 2001, part-time domestic work increased significantly and then stabilised. Similar to Dinkelman and Ranchhod (2012), Blaauw and Bothma (2010) argue that the average number of hours worked by domestic workers remained the same between 2000 and 2010. They argue that, although domestic workers had moved into part-time work, the fact that they worked for multiple employers meant that their hours remained similar to when they had worked full-time.

These studies show that the initial introduction of the minimum wage did play a role in the wages, hours and part-time status of domestic workers in South Africa. Additionally, Dinkelman and Ranchhod (2012) and Blaauw and Bothma (2010) argue that domestic workers' conditions of employment have improved. However, as was discussed in the literature review, many scholars argue that domestic workers still get paid a very low wage and suffer bad working conditions (Ally, 2006; Dinat & Peberdy, 2007; Hertz, 2005; Nyamnjoh, 2005; Du Preez *et al.*, 2010). Findings in this study show that there are middle-class households, both black African and White, which are aware of the vulnerable nature of their part-time domestic workers and which consciously try to pay them what they perceive to be a fair wage. In fact, all households employing part-time domestic workers in this study paid their domestic workers above the minimum wage. However, several points need to be made. Firstly, just because a household pays their part-time domestic worker more than that required by the minimum wage does not mean that they are paying a high wage. Secondly, taking a domestic worker's living expenses into consideration, when calculating his or her wages, is easier to do for a full-time domestic worker. Part-time domestic workers may be full-time workers in the sense that they work 35 hours or more for multiple employers. However, some part-time domestic workers may work less than 35 hours a week. Thus, what may be a good wage for one part-time domestic worker may be insufficient for another part-time domestic worker. Thirdly, of all the households in this study, only two took UIF regulations into consideration in their employment relationship with their part-time domestic workers. A domestic worker's conditions of employment are not limited to the wage which they are paid. Thus, even if a domestic worker is paid enough money to live on, to truly ensure that a domestic worker is treated fairly, an employer needs to take all legislation

around domestic workers into consideration. Finally, it is possible that households interviewed for this study wanted to portray themselves in a positive light. Additionally, even though these households portrayed themselves as being generous with their domestic workers, this does not mean that all middle-class households are generous with their domestic workers. The conditions of employment and wages of part-time domestic workers are usually determined by the employer, which means that part-time domestic workers need to rely on the generosity of the households they work for. This finding agrees with the study by Du Preez *et al.* (2010).. Thus, even though there are middle-class households in South Africa which are generous with their part-time domestic workers, these part-time domestic workers are still in a vulnerable position.

Findings for this thesis show that it is important to consider factors other than legislation which may influence the wages and hours of part-time domestic workers when trying to understand the domestic labour sector. In fact, it is possible that the minimum wage and legislation currently play a very small role in the wages and hours of domestic workers. Analysis of the interviews conducted for this thesis revealed causal mechanisms explaining some of the reasons, other than government regulation, behind why middle-class households choose to hire part-time domestic workers.

Theme 1 encompassed causal mechanisms related to the personal values which motivated the wages and hours which households set for their domestic workers, namely: (1) the desire to consider the financial needs of one's domestic worker, and (2) feeling personally responsible for one's domestic worker. The first causal mechanism shows that there are black African and white middle-class households with relatively high incomes which are concerned about the livelihood of their part-time domestic workers and want to avoid mistreating them. These households are motivated by religious and political values. Some of these households consciously try to pay their domestic workers a wage which will take their living expenses into consideration, while others take things like transport, food and the need for unofficial paid leave into consideration. Because they are concerned about paying their domestic workers a fair wage, however, some of these households are not financially able to hire them full-time. The second causal mechanism shows that there are employers of part-time domestic workers who feel responsible for their domestic workers and therefore pay them extra money when they are in a financial crisis and contact their domestic worker's other employers to help with financial assistance.

Theme 2 encompassed causal mechanisms related to households' finances, specifically: (1) personal finances, (2) the negotiating power of their domestic workers, and (3) the influence of the going rate of payment in a household's area. For many households, the decision to hire part-time domestic workers was a financial decision. Many felt that they could not afford to employ their domestic workers on a full-time basis. Their idea of 'affordability' was not influenced, however, by the minimum wage or by government regulation. This finding corroborates the study done by Du Preez *et al.* (2010) which argued that the wages employers pay their domestic workers is based on employer's personal finances rather than the minimum wage. It also speaks to the arguments made by Flint (1988) and Ally (2006). These scholars argue that many employers in South Africa choose to hire part-time domestic workers because they cannot afford full-time domestic workers. This has led to the growth of part-time domestic work. The wage some households pay their part-time domestic workers is also influenced by the price that they negotiate with their domestic workers. However, the final decision regarding the wage paid to their domestic workers is usually determined by the household. Also, these domestic workers often ask for a low wage when negotiating their price. The wage households pay their domestic workers is also influenced by what they perceive to be the going rate.

Theme 3 encompassed causal mechanisms related to households' childhood experiences namely: (1) the influence of childhood experiences on participants' personal values; and (2) the impact of relationships with childhood domestic workers on current relationships. Participants' childhood experiences played a role in their thoughts and feelings toward their domestic workers. This shows that childhood experiences can influence people's values which in turn can influence the wages they pay their domestic workers. Secondly, childhood experiences can influence people's desire to have a live-in domestic worker. People who have had a positive experience with childhood full-time domestic workers may have the desire to employ a full-time domestic worker as an adult. This may be just for themselves, or because they would like their own children to experience what they experienced when they were younger.

Theme 4 encompassed a number of different causal mechanisms which were connected to household lifestyle needs namely, (1) the size of housing, (2) whether households have children or not, (3) household employment, and (4) the health of household members.

The causal mechanism related to the size of household living spaces supports Blaauw and Bothma's (2010) findings. In their study, Blaauw and Bothma (2010) found that people staying in townhouses were more likely to employ part-time domestic workers than people staying in houses. They were also more likely to employ them for less hours a day and more likely to pay them less. Blaauw and Bothma (2010) argue that the reason for this is due to the fact that townhouses are smaller than houses, and generally have less occupants living in them. This thesis found that one of the reasons that some participants did not employ full-time domestic workers was because they felt their living space was too small. These participants felt that hiring a domestic worker part-time was enough to keep their homes clean. They also each expressed that if they had a large enough home, they would be willing to have a live-in domestic worker. Worth note, however, is the fact that some of these participants stayed in large houses and the idea of 'space' was related more to lifestyle needs than to the actual property sizes.

The causal mechanism related to whether or not participants had children showed that middle-class households with children that employ part-time domestic workers do not generally expect their domestic workers to look after their children. Households with children that employ part-time domestic workers do so for three reasons. Firstly, the decision to hire part-time domestic work may be motivated by financial constraints. Households may want to hire a full-time domestic worker to help look after the children, but cannot afford to do so. Secondly, households may feel that their house or apartment is too small to warrant hiring a full-time domestic worker. Thirdly, households may hire two part-time domestic workers instead of one full-time domestic worker. This may be due to the unavailability of full-time domestic workers which forces households to adapt by hiring more than one part-time domestic worker.

The causal mechanism related to household employment showed that some households need a domestic worker because the household members do not have enough time to do household chores. Other households, particularly households with only one member, choose to hire part-time domestic workers instead of full-time domestic workers because their jobs keep them away from home. Other households need a part-time domestic worker to look after their pets while they are away working. In this study, domestic workers were hired in all households when both partners worked. Of these households, only one employed their domestic worker full-time. This causal mechanism agrees with Gregson and Lowe's (2005) findings that, in

London, domestic workers were hired in up to forty per cent of households in which both partners worked.

Finally, the causal mechanism related to participants' health showed that people who have health-related-issues may employ part-time domestic workers because they are not able to complete their own household chores. It is possible that people who have health issues that severely limit their abilities to complete domestic chores may hire full-time domestic workers.

The following section of this thesis deals with the causal mechanisms behind full-time domestic work in middle-class households.

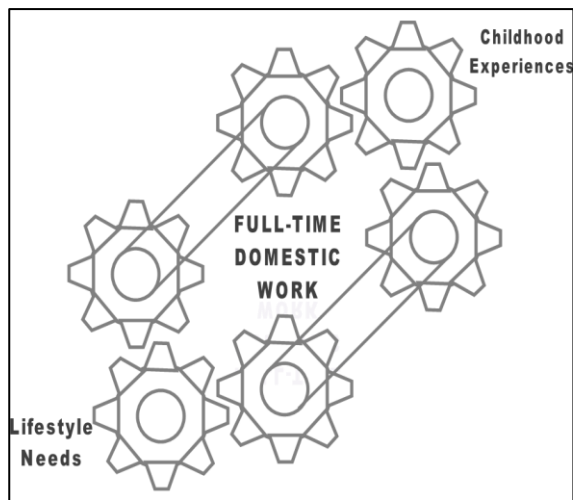
3.2. Full-Time Domestic Work

During analysis of the interviews conducted with employers of full-time domestic workers, two main themes emerged, namely: (1) childhood experiences, and (2) lifestyle needs. Within each theme, causal mechanisms explaining why participants chose to employ full-time domestic workers were identified.

Like part-time domestic employment, full-time domestic employment is a social structure. It consists of necessary, internal relations between the employer and the domestic worker. Internal relations are relations in which objects are dependent on each other for their existence (Sayer, 2010: 59–79). This means that in order for full-time domestic employment to exist, certain properties or causal mechanisms need to be present. For example, the need for around the clock childcare is a property of working parents which may prompt them to hire full-time domestic work. Causal mechanisms are therefore useful in helping us understand why certain middle-class households in certain circumstances choose to employ full-time domestic workers.

The picture below illustrates full-time domestic work in terms of cogs in a machine. The causal mechanisms can be seen as cogs which, when activated, work together to produce the structural relationship of full-time domestic employment. The cogs are separated into groups representing the different themes which emerged during analysis.

Figure 7: A representation of the causal mechanisms behind full-time domestic work



Information from the interviews with Participants 3,5, 6, 8 and 10 has been analysed and discussed in this section of the findings chapter.⁷ Since many of the participants in this study had hired part-time, full-time or no domestic workers at different times of their lives, they have been discussed under different sections of the findings chapter. For example, interviews with Participants 3,6 and 8 were also discussed in the section on part-time domestic workers. Only participants' relationships with full-time domestic workers will be focussed on in this section. As with the households who hired part-time domestic workers, analysis of the interviews conducted with households who employed full-time domestic workers showed that many households were not up to date on the regulations covering domestic workers, especially the minimum wage. Except for one household, none of the households who had employed full-time domestic workers reported having a written contract with them or paying a percentage of their monthly wage into the UIF. One particular household who had registered their previous South African domestic worker with the UIF did not do this with their current domestic worker because she was a non-citizen. Another household who had hired a full-time domestic worker was aware of the legislation around domestic workers, but did not adhere to it because this household's domestic worker was a relative. Because she was seen as part of the family, her status as a domestic worker was extremely informal. The households who employed full-time domestic workers were also not aware of the minimum wage for domestic workers at the time of the interviews. All the households who had hired full-time domestic workers, however, paid their domestic workers above the minimum wage. The fact that all the participants paid above the minimum wage and the fact that most lacked knowledge around the minimum wage showed that they had motivating factors other than

⁷ For detailed information on the specifics of the employment relationships between these participants and their domestic workers and information on the participants themselves, please refer to the appendix.

government regulations influencing the wages and hours of their domestic workers. A description of the causal mechanisms explaining why households chose to employ full-time domestic workers is provided below.

3.2.1. Theme 1: Childhood Experiences

The childhood experiences of individuals from middle-class households played a role in their decision to employ full-time, live-in domestic workers as adults. Specifically, the bond that individuals formed with their childhood domestic workers acted as a causal mechanism.

The impact of relationships with childhood domestic workers on current relationships

Participants in this study explained that having a close relationship with a childhood domestic worker influenced their decision to hire full-time domestic workers as adults. For example, one participant explained that as an adult, she treated her full-time domestic workers as part of the family because, as a child, her domestic worker was treated this way. Another participant described how her childhood domestic worker lived on her family's property when she was a child. She felt that this domestic worker was part of the family, although it disturbed her that the domestic worker was not allowed to sit at the table and eat with the family. She explained that, because of her experience as a child, she wanted her own household to employ a domestic worker who could be part of the family and feel comfortable eating at the table with them. A third participant explained that, as a child, her family's domestic worker lived in their house and was included as part of the family. When she had children, she also decided to hire full-time domestic workers and include them as part of the family.

Participant 5: *"...it's important for me that...the lady that cleans your house, that she must be part of your own home, and she must feel part of us...You know...the house worker that we had when I grew up...she did sleep in, but in those days she was not really, we didn't ever...tell her 'you're not allowed to sit with us and have dinner', but...in those days it was like they didn't feel comfortable sitting with the rest of the family at the table. Um, so that was different from now, and us currently, she sits with us, she eats with us and, uh, so that's also the difference, but ja, it's just nice to us to do that. We wanted to do that, ja."*

Participant 8: *“Um, well, they [full-time domestic workers] helped clean the house. They did the, they ran the home for us. They brought the kids up. They were part of our family... we used to share the whole house together and I think one of them...actually lived in the house with us, ja. So she was really part of the family... because being brought up on the farm, it was very different, you know. My friends were black and we just all grew up as a family. We were very big... We had a big family of brothers and sisters, but...everybody was included in that family.”*

3.2.2. Theme 2: Lifestyle Needs

One of the main factors influencing the duties, wages, and hours relating to the full-time status of domestic workers employed in middle-class households is the lifestyle needs of these households. Analysis revealed three types of lifecycle needs which acted as causal mechanisms:

1. The employment of parents and the need for childcare and;
2. The desire for the time to pursue one's own leisure; and
3. The effect that the size of housing has on the hours and wages of domestic workers.

The employment of parents and the need for childcare

For all middle-class households in this study (including black African middle-class families) which had hired full-time domestic workers, having children was one of the main motivating factors behind this decision. For some of these households, having small children as well as both partners being employed meant that they needed someone to help look after their children. Some of these households continued to employ their domestic workers full-time as their children grew. When the children left the home, these households chose to change the hours of their domestic workers and began employing them on a part-time basis.

For example one female participant explained that, when her children were babies, her domestic worker's duties included giving them their bottles and looking after them. When the children were older, the participant sent them to day care and the domestic worker was not expected to look after them anymore. When the participant's children left home, she began to hire part-time domestic workers who did not live on her property. She felt the house was

easier to keep clean once her children left home and therefore did not feel the need to employ a full-time domestic worker.

Another female participant explained that being employed as well as having children affected her domestic workers' hours. When the participant's children were younger and living in the house with her, she hired full-time domestic workers. She explained that one of the duties her full-time domestic workers had was to help raise her children, especially when she was at work. She wanted her domestic workers to look after her children instead of sending them to crèche. When she moved to Cape Town with her husband, she did not need full-time domestic workers because her children were adults and did not stay with them anymore. Thus, they hired one or two part-time domestic workers.

A black African, male participant explained that a family member worked as the family's 'helper' by looking after their two-year old daughter while they were both at work. They were not able to leave their daughter at a crèche because it closed before they were able to fetch her. This family had a very intimate, personal relationship with their domestic worker. This affected their domestic worker's wages and live-in status more than government regulations did. While the participant explained that that he felt it would go against his culture to pay the family's helper, since she was a relative, this may have also just have been because she was seen as part of the family. Instead of paying their domestic worker, the family put away money each month to help her to continue her education later on.

Participant 10: *"My wife goes to work, and I work...who do we leave the baby with? So, that's a problem...because my...daughter's too young. But if she turns two...we can...send her to a crèche. But till the logistics of, um, arranging who's going to drop her, who's going to collect her...Sometimes I finish late or sometimes my wife finishes late at work, so...and then they require to collect, uh, a child around five from creche, of which sometimes we are not there. So, it's a challenge for us to do that. So, that's the reason [the reason for having their helper]."*

The desire for the time to pursue one's own leisure

In some high-income, middle-class households, where the mother does not work, having someone to help look after the children is a luxury and not a necessity. For example, a stay-at-home mother in this study explained that having a full-time domestic worker suited her

family and was “just easier” and “comfortable” because she was on-call for extra tasks the household may need such as looking after the dogs.

Participant 5: When asked how she felt having a live-in domestic worker was easier: *“She [the domestic worker] doesn't need to travel, pay extra somewhere else for accommodation, she is nearby should we need her for anything extra such as looking after the dogs etc.”*

The effect that the size of housing has on the hours and wages of domestic workers

Some middle-class households employ full-time domestic workers because of the size of their living spaces. For example, one participant explained that one of the household’s previous domestic workers did not want to continue working for them because she felt the house was too big, implying that the size of the house was a motivating factor behind having a full-time, live-in domestic worker. The participant’s house was a double-storey house with four bedrooms, one study, a linen room, a laundry room, three bathrooms, two extra toilets, a braai room, three TV rooms, a dining room and a kitchen.

Participant 5: *“Um, well the one lady [domestic worker] specifically had a problem with... the, um, uh... how big the home was... how big the house was. She said it's too big for her to manage...”*

3.2.3. Discussion

As with the households who hired part-time domestic workers, analysis of the interviews conducted with households who employed full-time domestic workers showed that many households were not up to date on the regulations covering domestic workers, especially the minimum wage. Except for one household, none of the households who had employed full-time domestic workers reported having a written contract with them or paying a percentage of their monthly wage into the UIF. One particular household who had registered its previous South African domestic worker with the UIF and had a written contract with her did not do this with its current domestic worker because she was a non-citizen. One of the households who hired a full-time domestic worker was aware of the legislation around domestic workers, but did not adhere to it because this household’s domestic worker was a relative. Because she was seen as part of the family, her status as a domestic worker was extremely informal. Other households who employed full-time domestic workers were not aware of the minimum wage

for domestic workers at the time of the interviews. All the households who had hired full-time domestic workers, however, paid their domestic workers above the minimum wage. The one exception was the household which employed its relative. In this case, the household put money away for the domestic worker's schooling instead of paying her a wage. The fact that all the participants paid above the minimum wage and the fact that most lacked knowledge around the minimum wage showed that they had motivating factors other than government regulations behind the wages and hours of their domestic workers. A description of the causal mechanisms explaining why participants chose to employ full-time domestic workers is provided below.

As with part-time domestic work, this is relevant to the academic discussion around the impact of the minimum wage and other legislation on the wages, hours and working conditions of full-time domestic workers. As previously stated, while the literature argues that the initial introduction of the minimum wage did play a role in the wages, hours and part-time status of domestic workers in South Africa, findings for this thesis show that it is also important to consider other factors which may influence the wages, hours and working conditions of domestic workers when trying to understand the domestic labour sector. In fact, it is possible that the minimum wage and legislation currently play a very small role in the wages and hours of domestic workers. Unlike some of the households interviewed which employed part-time domestic workers, households employing full-time domestic workers did not specify that they were consciously trying to pay their domestic workers a wage which would be enough for them to live off. However, they did portray themselves as being generous with their domestic workers' wages. When households paid their full-time domestic workers above the minimum wage, this seemed to be related to the fact that their household members were high-income earners. This conclusion is corroborated by the study done by Du Preez *et al.* (2010) which argues that the wages employers pay their domestic workers is based on the employer's personal finances rather than the minimum wage. It is also important to note that because the minimum wage for domestic workers is so low, they are forced to rely on the generosity of households to earn higher wages. Thus, although some full-time domestic workers earn a good salary, they are still in a vulnerable position. However, the fact that high earning middle-class households are willing to pay their domestic workers substantially more than the minimum wage means that it may be possible for the government to officially raise full-time domestic workers' wages substantially without causing job losses.

Analysis of the interviews conducted for this thesis also revealed causal mechanisms that provide a partial explanation for why employers choose to hire full-time domestic workers.

Theme 1 encompassed a causal mechanism related to childhood experiences. This causal mechanism showed that childhood experiences can play a role in people's decision to employ full-time, live-in domestic workers. People who have had a positive experience with full-time, live-in domestic workers during their childhood may have the desire to employ a full-time, live-in domestic worker as an adult. This may be just for themselves or because they would like their own children to experience what they experienced when they were younger.

Theme 2 encompassed three different causal mechanisms which were connected to household lifestyle needs namely, (1) the employment of parents and the need for childcare, (2) the desire for the time to pursue one's own leisure, and (3) the effect that the size of housing has on the hours and wages of domestic workers.

Findings on the employment of parents and the need for childcare compliments Strelitz' (2018) findings. In her study, Strelitz' (2018) found that a causal mechanism motivating people to hire full-time domestic workers is the existence of an employed mother, especially a mother who shoulders the burden of domestic chores, in the home. While this thesis did not focus on mothers specifically, it did show that for all households who had hired full-time domestic workers at some point, having children was one of the main motivating factors behind this decision. For some of these households, having small children as well as both partners being employed meant that they needed someone to help look after their children. Some of these households continued to employ their domestic workers full-time as their children grew. When the children left the home, these households chose to change the hours of their domestic workers and began employing them on a part-time basis. In this study, domestic workers were hired in all households when both partners worked. However, of these dual-income households, only one employed their domestic worker full-time. This fact that all dual-income households hired domestic workers supports Gregson and Lowe's (2005) findings that, in London, domestic workers were hired in up to forty per cent of households in which both partners worked.

Causal mechanism 2 shows, however, that in some high-income, middle-class households in which the mother does not work, having someone to help look after the children is a luxury and not a necessity. In this case, hiring a full-time domestic worker enables the mother to have time to pursue leisure activities instead of working full-time at home on housework and

child rearing. Having a live-in domestic worker is also convenient because it means that the domestic worker is on call for extra tasks.

Causal mechanism 3 supports Blaauw and Bothma's (2010) findings. In their study, Blaauw and Bothma (2010) found that people staying in townhouses were more likely to employ part-time domestic workers than people staying in houses. They were also more likely to employ them for fewer hours a day and more likely to pay them less. Blaauw and Bothma (2010) argue that the reason for this is due to the fact that townhouses are smaller than houses, and generally have less occupants living in them. This thesis found that one of the reasons that some households employed full-time domestic workers was because they had a large living space.

The following section of this thesis deals with the causal mechanisms behind the decision of middle-class households not to hire domestic workers.

3.3. The Decision not to hire a Domestic Worker

This section of the findings chapter discusses why some middle-class households in this study had made the decision not to hire domestic workers at the time of the interviews. This information is provided as counterfactual evidence for why middle-class households choose to hire part-time domestic workers. Information from the interviews with Participants 7, 8, 9, 11 and 13 has been analysed and discussed in this section of the findings chapter. Since many of the participants in this study had hired part-time, full-time or no domestic workers at different times of their lives, they have been discussed under different sections of the findings chapter. For example, interviews with Participants 7, 8, 9 and 11 have been discussed in other sections of the findings chapter. Only the information relevant to the time of their lives when these participants hired no domestic workers, therefore, is discussed in this section of the findings chapter.

During analysis of interviews conducted with these participants, two main areas or themes emerged, namely: (1) personal values; and (2) lifestyle needs. Within each theme, causal mechanisms explaining why participants chose not to employ domestic workers were identified. Analysis of the interviews conducted with participants who had no domestic workers showed that none of the participants were up to date on the regulations or minimum wage covering domestic workers. This lack of knowledge showed that the minimum wage

and other legislation were not the motivating factors behind the decision not to hire domestic workers. The following motivating factors played a role in this decision.

3.3.1. Theme 1: Personal Values

For some middle-class households, one of the motivating factors behind the decision not to hire a domestic worker is personal values. These households may also feel that they are unable to afford a domestic worker. Their understanding of the unaffordability of employing domestic workers is influenced by their values instead of government regulations, as already stated. Analysis revealed two types of personal values which acted as causal mechanisms:

1. The desire to consider the financial needs of one's domestic worker, and
2. The feeling of discomfort around hiring an older domestic worker

The desire to consider the financial needs of one's domestic worker

Analysis showed that some middle-class households desire to pay their full-time domestic workers a fair wage that ensures that they receive enough money to help sustain themselves and their families. For these households, this means taking the cost of living, including food, housing, schooling, medical aid etc. into consideration. However, because some these households feel that they cannot afford to do this, they decide not to hire a domestic worker at all. For example, one of the participants in this study reported that she would not employ a domestic worker because she could not pay what she perceived to be a fair wage. She explained that, having grown up in a household where her parents struggled to make ends meet, she felt that as an adult, she could not employ someone without paying them a proper salary. This shows, once again, that childhood experiences play a vital role in shaping people's perceptions and beliefs around domestic workers.

Participant 7: *"...it's actually too expensive these days [to hire a domestic worker]...It's not that I don't want to. I mean if I had the choice I wouldn't want to clean my own house, but, yes, I simply can't afford it...Growing up I knew what it was like to have one or both parents work two jobs just to feed me and my two brothers and have a roof over our heads, and for that reason I can't let someone work for me if I can't pay them a salary that they can make a living on."*

The feeling of discomfort around hiring an older domestic worker

Some middle-class households may avoid employing domestic workers based on cultural values. In this instance, a black African, professional, single mother reported that she was uncomfortable hiring a domestic worker because she was not comfortable giving an older woman instructions. She explained that this was linked to her cultural values. She also stated that she would not consider hiring a younger person either, because she felt they may be too irresponsible, especially with her younger daughter.

Participant 13: *“So because I’m coming from that culture that I am, it is always the younger person working for the older person...I don’t know, I think if it was me, I...wouldn’t feel comfortable, because obviously sometimes you need to give instructions and me giving an instruction to an older, even though you have that thing that you’re paying this person, it still doesn’t have that comfortable feeling, telling them what to do when something arises.”*

3.3.2. Theme 2: Lifestyle Needs

Some middle-class households may choose not to hire domestic workers due to three types of lifestyle needs:

1. Financial constraints which influenced the decision not to employ a domestic worker;
2. The effect that the size of housing has on the decision not to employ a domestic worker; and
3. The effect that living alone has on the decision not to employ a domestic worker

Financial constraints which influenced the decision not to employ a domestic worker

One reason that middle-class households may decide not to hire a domestic worker is because it is not considered financially viable. This decision, however, is not necessarily motivated by the minimum wage. Households in this study which cited finances as a reason for not employing domestic workers did not know what the minimum wage was at the time of the interviews. Instead, the idea of what a domestic worker should be paid was based on personal values, rather than government regulation, as was expounded on in sections above.

Participant 7 *“...it's actually too expensive these days [to hire a domestic worker]...It's not that I don't want to. I mean if I had the choice I wouldn't want to clean my own house, but, yes, I simply can't afford it...”*

Participant 8 *“I can't answer for today because we're not in a, in a position to have a domestic worker now...”*

The effect that the size of housing has on the decision not to employ a domestic worker

Another reason that middle-class households may decide not to hire domestic workers is due to the size of their living spaces. For example, one participant, a black African, single mother, explained that she did not employ a domestic worker because she felt her apartment was too small. Her living space consisted of only two rooms, namely a bedroom and kitchen, and was therefore small enough for her to manage the cleaning and maintenance by herself.

Participant 13: *“So, basically at the moment, since I'm renting, I'm renting a very small little space that is big enough for me and my two year old, which is, um, basically you would say it's a two room compartment...I mean, I literally can do things standing on one point of the room. So, I don't see myself really needing help in doing anything, cause even my washing machine is like within the same diameter, like a small space.”*

The effect that living alone has on the decision not to employ a domestic worker

Some middle-class households choose not to hire domestic workers because the household consists of one person. For example, one participant explained that because she lived alone, she felt she could do all the housework herself. This causal mechanism is directly linked to the causal mechanism of having children. Having children influences the decision of many middle-class households to hire full-time domestic workers. As the children grow up or leave the home, these households may eventually choose to employ part-time domestic workers or no domestic workers at all.

Participant 9: *“I have nobody working for me at the moment. I do all my own domestic work. I live on my own so it's very easy to do.”*

3.3.3. Discussion

As with most households for this thesis, households who had no domestic workers were not up to date on the regulations or minimum wage covering domestic workers. This lack of knowledge showed that the minimum wage and other legislation were not the motivating factors behind the financial decision not to hire domestic workers. Like with part-time and full-time domestic work, this is relevant to the academic discussion around the impact of the minimum wage and other legislation on the domestic working sector. While the literature argues that the initial introduction of the minimum wage did play a role in the wages, hours and growth of part-time domestic work in South Africa, findings for this thesis show that it is also important to consider other factors which may influence the domestic labour sector. In fact, it is possible that the minimum wage and legislation currently play a very small role in the wages and hours of domestic workers and even the decision by people not to hire domestic workers.

Analysis of the interviews conducted for this thesis revealed causal mechanisms explaining some of the reasons behind why middle-class households choose not to hire domestic workers.

Theme 1 encompassed causal mechanisms related to the personal values which motivated participants not to hire domestic workers, namely: (1) the desire to consider the financial needs of one's domestic worker; and (2) the feeling of discomfort around hiring an older domestic worker.

The first causal mechanism shows that there are middle-class households who may choose not to hire domestic workers if they feel they cannot pay them what they consider to be a fair wage. The understanding of a fair wage for these households hinges around personal values instead of government regulations. The second causal mechanism shows that personal, cultural values may deter black African households from hiring domestic workers. This may mean that household members, particularly female members, may feel uncomfortable giving older women instructions while they also do not trust hiring younger women, whom they deem to be lacking in responsibility.

Theme 2 encompassed three different causal mechanisms which were connected to household lifestyle needs namely: (1) the financial constraints which influenced the decision not to employ a domestic worker; (2) the effect that the size of housing has on the decision not to

employ a domestic worker; and (3) the effect that living alone has on the decision not to employ a domestic worker. The first causal mechanism speaks to the affordability of domestic work. Middle-class households may choose not to employ domestic workers because of financial constraints. However, it is important to note that this decision is not always linked to the minimum wage. Instead, it is sometimes influenced by personal values, as discussed above. The second causal mechanism shows that households with smaller living spaces may choose not to hire domestic workers at all. The third causal mechanism shows that single-headed, middle-class households may decide not to hire a domestic worker because they feel they are able to keep up with household chores by themselves.

The following section of this thesis discusses how all the qualitative findings presented so far are connected.

3.4. Connecting the Findings

In order to understand the causal mechanisms behind the growth of part-time domestic work in Cape Town better, it is necessary to understand how the qualitative findings provided above are connected.

The impact of government regulations on middle-class households employing part-time, full-time or no domestic workers

Many middle-class households which hire domestic workers do not base their wages only on the minimum wage. Rather the wages these households set are influenced more by their personal values and/or personal finances. Some even do not pay their domestic worker wages. For example, a black African household in this study employed a relative as a domestic worker. In this case, the household put money away for the domestic worker's schooling instead of paying her a wage.

The households in this study which employed domestic workers did not generally adhere to government regulations such as having written contracts with their domestic workers or registering them for UIF. Except for two households, households employing part-time domestic workers were not up to date on these regulations, did not have written contracts with their domestic workers and had not registered their domestic workers with the UIF. This may be because their domestic workers worked less than 24 hours and therefore did not fall under the BCEA. Households which had employed full-time domestic workers had more

knowledge about the regulations covering domestic workers. However, except for one household, none of the households who had employed full-time domestic workers reported having a written contract with them or paying a percentage of their monthly wage into the UIF. One particular household who had registered its previous South African domestic worker with the UIF and had a written contract with her did not do this with its current domestic worker because she was a non-citizen. One of the Black African households who hired a full-time domestic worker was aware of the legislation around domestic workers, but did not adhere to it because this household's domestic worker was a relative. Her employment relationship with the households was therefore very informal.

Several points can be made based on the above information. Firstly, although all the households interviewed for this thesis paid above the minimum wage, this does not mean that they took their domestic workers' living expenses into consideration. Secondly, the fact that regulations covering domestic workers, such as the minimum wage, UIF and written contracts, were either unknown or ignored means that factors other than government regulation were at play. This means that the conditions of employment that many domestic workers experience and the wages they receive while working for middle-class households are motivated by factors other than government regulation. Thirdly, it is possible that households interviewed for this study wanted to portray themselves in a positive light. Additionally, even though these households portrayed themselves as being generous with their domestic workers, this does not mean that all middle-class households are generous with their domestic workers or that all middle-class households ignore government regulations pertaining to their domestic workers. The conditions of employment and wages of domestic workers are usually determined by the employer, which means that domestic workers need to rely on the generosity of the households they work for. This finding agrees with the study by Du Preez *et al* (2010). Thus, even though there are middle-class households in South Africa which are generous with their domestic workers, these domestic workers are still in a vulnerable position.

Causal mechanisms which influence middle-class households to hire full-time, part-time or no domestic workers

Household Size

Household size seemed to be a significant factor behind the decision of households in this study to hire domestic workers part-time, full-time or not at all. This thesis found that one of

the reasons that some participants employed part-time domestic workers or no domestic workers was because they felt their living space was too small. These participants felt that hiring a domestic worker part-time was enough to keep their homes clean. They also each felt that if they had a large enough home, they would be willing to have a live-in domestic worker. On the other hand, participants who felt that they had a large living area employed full-time domestic workers. Interesting to note, however, is the fact that some of the participants who felt their living space was too small for a full-time domestic worker actually stayed in large houses. The idea of ‘space’ was related more to lifestyle needs and family dynamics than to the actual property sizes.

The causal mechanism related to the size of household living spaces supports Blaauw and Bothma’s (2010) findings. In their study, Blaauw and Bothma (2010) found that people staying in townhouses were more likely to employ part-time domestic workers than people staying in houses. They were also more likely to employ them for less hours a day and more likely to pay them less. Blaauw and Bothma (2010) argue that the reason for this is due to the fact that townhouses are smaller than houses, and generally have less occupants living in them.

Causal mechanisms which influence middle-class households to hire either part-time or full-time domestic workers

Household Employment

Household employment is a causal mechanism behind the decision of middle-class households to hire both part-time and full-time domestic workers. This causal mechanism, however, seems to work more strongly for households with part-time domestic workers. Some of the reasons that households with employed household members hire part-time domestic work are as follows. Some households need a domestic worker because the household members do not have enough time to do household chores. Other households, particularly households with only one member, choose to hire part-time domestic workers instead of full-time domestic workers because their jobs keep them away from home. Because they are away on business trips, a full-time domestic worker is not necessary. Other households need a part-time domestic worker to look after their pets while they are away working.

Additionally, in this study, domestic workers were hired in all households in which both partners had jobs. Of these households, only one employed their domestic worker full-time. This causal mechanism agrees with Gregson and Lowe's (2005) findings that, in London, domestic workers were hired in up to forty per cent of households in which both partners worked.

Causal mechanisms which influence middle-class households to hire either part-time or no domestic workers

Personal Finances

Financial constraints act as a causal mechanism behind the decision of some middle-class households to either hire part-time domestic work or no domestic work at all. Some of the households in this study that hired part-time domestic workers felt that they could not afford to hire their domestic workers on a full-time basis. Their idea of 'affordability' was not influenced, however, by the minimum wage or by government regulation. This finding corroborates the study done by Du Preez *et al* (2010) which argued that the wages employers pay their domestic workers is based on employer's personal finances rather than the minimum wage. It also speaks to the arguments made by Flint (1988) and Ally (2006). These scholars argue that many employers in South Africa choose to hire part-time domestic workers because they cannot afford full-time domestic workers. This is one of the factors which have led to the growth of part-time domestic work.

The desire to consider the financial needs of one's domestic worker

The desire to take the living expenses of one's domestic worker into consideration also acts as a causal mechanism behind the decision of some middle-class households to either hire part-time domestic work or no domestic work at all. Because they feel they cannot afford to pay what they perceive to be a 'fair wage' to their domestic workers if they hire them full-time, they decide to either hire them part-time or not to hire any domestic help at all. These households use their own criteria for what they believe to be a 'fair wage' rather than the minimum wage to help guide them in deciding the wages of their domestic workers. This is, of course, subjective. Different households will use different criteria to determine what kind of lifestyle factors and expenses they feel their domestic workers' wages should cover and what would be fair. Additionally, some middle-class households will not go as far as to work

out how much their domestic worker would need to sustain their lifestyle, but will take things such as transport costs and meals into consideration.

The desire to consider the financial needs of one's domestic workers is motivated by religious and political values. These personal values are often shaped during childhood which shows that childhood experiences play a vital role in shaping people's perceptions and beliefs around domestic workers. For example, some white and black African middle-class households in this study decided to pay their part-time domestic workers a relatively high income. This was due to the fact that they considered their domestic workers' financial needs when calculating their wages. The decision to hire these domestic workers part-time seemed to be based on finances for some, while for others, finances were not an issue. These households earned relatively high incomes, were concerned about the livelihood of their part-time domestic workers and wanted to avoid mistreating them. These households were motivated by religious and political values.

Causal mechanisms unique to households employing part-time domestic work

The following causal mechanisms uniquely influenced the wages which middle-class households paid their part-time domestic workers.

Feeling responsible for one's domestic worker

The wage that some middle-class households pay their domestic workers is influenced by the feeling of responsibility they have towards their domestic workers. Some households which employ part-time domestic workers pay them extra money when their workers are in a financial crisis and contact their domestic workers' other employers to help with financial assistance.

The negotiating power of domestic workers

The wage some households pay their part-time domestic workers is influenced by the price that they negotiate with their domestic workers. However, the final decision regarding the wage paid to their domestic workers is usually determined by the household. Also, these domestic workers often ask for a low wage when negotiating their price.

The influence of the going rate

Households which employ part-time domestic workers are also influenced by the going rate for domestic workers in their areas. For example, one participant felt that the wage she was paying her domestic worker was fair because she was receiving the same amount of money for working a full day at another employer's larger apartment. Another participant seemed to base his idea of a 'good fee' for a domestic worker off his comparison with what other people pay their domestic workers. A third participant explained that the main factor which influenced his wage for his domestic worker was his relationship with the friend from whom he 'borrowed' his domestic worker's services. The participant explained that he paid his domestic worker what he did because that was the wage his friend paid her. He also explained that he would decide on his domestic worker's annual increase after discussing it with this friend.

The influence of childhood experiences on the wages paid to domestic workers

Participants from households employing part-time domestic workers reported that their childhood experiences played a role in their thoughts and feelings concerning their domestic workers. Their childhood experiences influenced their values, which in turn influenced the wages they paid their domestic workers.

The health of employers and its effect on the hours and duties of their domestic workers

Some middle-class households hire part-time domestic workers for health-related reasons. For example, household members who may not be able to complete their own household chores due to health issues may choose to employ part-time domestic workers.

Causal mechanism unique to households employing full-time domestic work

The employment of parents and the need for childcare

For all middle-class households in this study which had hired full-time domestic workers at some point, having children was one of the main motivating factors behind this decision. For some of these households, having small children as well as both partners being employed meant that they needed someone to help look after their children. Some of these households continued to employ their domestic workers full-time as their children grew. When the children left the home, these households chose to change the hours of their domestic workers

and began employing them on a part-time basis. On the other hand, households with children that employed part-time domestic workers did not expect their domestic workers to look after their children.

The desire to have the time to pursue one's own leisure

Some high-income, middle-class households, in which the mother does not work, employ full-time domestic workers not out of necessity, but as a luxury. In this case hiring a full-time domestic worker enables the mother to have time to pursue leisure activities instead of working full-time at home on housework and child rearing. Having a live-in domestic worker is also convenient because it means that the domestic worker is on call for extra tasks.

The effect that having a family member as a domestic worker has on her wages and working conditions

Some middle-class households have relatives which help with the domestic chores. Because of the intimate nature of this type of relationship, these domestic workers may not be seen as official workers. This means that they may not be paid an official wage, or be registered with the UIF. Additionally, they may not be referred to as domestic workers but in an informal manner such as the household's "*helper*". In this study, the household in which a relative worked for the household was black African. However, it is possible that White middle-class households also have relatives which do domestic chores for the households, although none of the case studies covered here included such a family.

Causal mechanisms unique to households not employing domestic workers

The feeling of discomfort around hiring an older domestic worker

Some middle-class households may choose not to hire domestic workers because they feel uncomfortable doing so due to cultural values. This causal mechanism may be unique to black African, female-headed households who may feel uncomfortable giving older women instructions while they also do not trust hiring younger women, who may be seen as irresponsible.

The effect that living alone has on the decision not to employ a domestic worker

Some middle-class households choose not to hire domestic workers because the household consists of one person. For example, one participant explained that because she lived alone, she felt she could do all the housework herself. This causal mechanism is directly linked to the causal mechanism related to having children. Having children influences the decision of many middle-class households to hire full-time domestic workers. As the children grow up or leave the home, these households may eventually choose to employ part-time domestic workers or no domestic workers at all.

Chapter 4: Conclusion

Statistical analysis of the labour market in South Africa shows that between 1994 and 2015, the growth rate of domestic worker employment was slow in comparison to the growth rate of employment in managerial, professional and technical occupations. In Gauteng, the slow growth of domestic worker employment contributed to the overall slow rate of growth of all unskilled jobs. This is because domestic workers consist of around half of all unskilled jobs. The growth of these elementary jobs was therefore much slower compared to technical, professional and managerial jobs (Crankshaw, forthcoming). Therefore, Gauteng experienced professionalisation rather than social polarisation. Like Gauteng, Cape Town has also experienced professionalisation rather than social polarisation, due in part to the slow growth rate of domestic worker employment. The slow growth of domestic worker employment can be partly attributed to the growth of part-time domestic worker employment. This is because households employing part-time domestic workers tend to share domestic workers, which leads to less domestic workers being employed per household (Crankshaw, forthcoming).

The shift from full-time, live-in domestic work to part-time, live-out domestic work in South Africa began in the 1970s when the legal restrictions on where black African domestic workers lived as well as the influx control system began to relax (Ally, 2011; Crankshaw, forthcoming; Makosana, 1989). Before this, most domestic workers were black African women who worked for White families on a full-time basis and who lived in rudimentary rooms outside these families' houses (Ginsburg, 2000, 2011).

After Apartheid, the new ANC Government designated domestic workers as vulnerable workers (Ally, 2006) and drafted legislation to cover them (Budlender, 2016). Domestic workers were included under the BCEA, LRA, UICA, UIA, OHSA, and under Sectoral Determination 7 which sets the minimum wage for the sector (Budlender, 2016). The impact of the introduction of the new legislation on the growth of part-time domestic work as well as on their wages and conditions of employment is debated by scholars. This thesis explored how legislation has an impact on the decisions middle-class households make concerning their domestic workers. It also explored some of the reasons behind the growth of part-time domestic work.

Qualitative methods were used to explore these questions, while statistical descriptive methods were used to show the slow growth rate of domestic employment as compared to managerial, professional, and technical occupations. The following findings were made.

The decision of middle-class households in this study around what wage to pay both part-time and full-time domestic workers was not influenced by the minimum wage. This can be seen by the fact that many of the participants did not know what the minimum wage was and by the fact that all of the households in this study paid their domestic workers above the minimum wage. Other causal factors influenced the wages of that households paid their domestic workers. The wages they paid their domestic workers was partly motivated by what they perceived to be a fair wage and partly by personal finances. The perception of what a fair wage is differed amongst participants. Some households took their domestic workers' living expenses into consideration, while others considered things such as transport costs and meals.

It is important to note here that while there are middle-class households which choose to pay their domestic workers a generous wage, these wages are usually determined by the employer. This means that because domestic workers rely on the generosity of the households they work for, they are still in a vulnerable position, even if they earn a relatively high wage.

Another important point concerning part-time domestic work is that some part-time domestic workers may, in fact, be full-time workers in the sense that they work 35 hours or more for multiple employers. On the other hand, some part-time domestic workers may work less than 35 hours a week. Thus, what may be a good wage for one part-time domestic worker may be a bad wage for another part-time domestic worker.

Middle-class households in this study did not generally adhere to government regulations such as having written contracts with their domestic workers or registering them with the UIF. Except for two exceptions, households employing part-time domestic workers were in fact ignorant regarding these regulations. Households which had employed full-time domestic workers had more knowledge about the regulations covering domestic workers. However, except for one exception, none of the households who had employed full-time domestic workers reported having a written contract with them or paying a percentage of their monthly wage into the UIF.

Household size was a causal mechanism behind the decision of households included in this study to hire domestic workers part-time, full-time or not at all. The households in this study with smaller living spaces were content to either keep their homes clean by themselves or with the help of a part-time domestic worker.

Household employment was a causal mechanism behind the decision of middle-class households to hire both part-time and full-time domestic workers. This causal mechanism, however, seemed to work more strongly for households with part-time domestic workers. In this study, domestic workers were hired in all dual-income households. Of these households, only one employed its domestic worker full-time.

Financial constraints as well as the desire to consider the financial needs of their domestic workers acted as causal mechanisms behind the decision of some middle-class households in this study to either hire part-time domestic work or no domestic work at all. The perception of what a fair wage for domestic workers is was influenced by personal and political values instead of government regulations (as stated earlier). These personal values were shaped during childhood which shows that childhood experiences play a vital role in shaping people's perceptions and beliefs around domestic workers.

Five causal mechanisms uniquely influenced the households in this study to employ part-time domestic work. Firstly, some households felt responsible for their domestic workers. This feeling of responsibility prompted them to pay their domestic workers extra money when they were in a financial crisis and to contact their domestic worker's other employers to help with financial assistance. Secondly, the wage some households paid their part-time domestic workers was influenced by the price that they negotiated with their domestic workers, although the domestic worker usually had less negotiating power than that of the households. Thirdly, some households were influenced by the going rate for domestic workers in their areas. Fourthly, participants from households employing part-time domestic workers reported that their childhood experiences played a role in their thoughts and feelings around their domestic workers. Their childhood experiences influenced their values, which in turn influenced the wages they paid their domestic workers. They therefore could not afford to hire full-time domestic workers because they felt they would not be able to pay a fair wage. Finally, some households hired part-time domestic workers when household members were incapacitated and unable to do household chores due to health-related issues.

Two causal mechanisms uniquely influenced the households in this study to employ full-time domestic work. Firstly, households employed full-time domestic work because of the need for childcare. For some of these households, having small children as well as both partners being employed meant that they needed someone to help look after their children. Secondly, the mother in the house desired to have the time to pursue leisure activities. This was the case in high-income households where the mother did not work, but wanted a domestic worker as a luxury. Thirdly, one of the households in this study had a relative which helped with the domestic chores. Because of the intimate nature of this type of relationship, this domestic worker was not seen as an official worker. She therefore did not receive an official wage, but rather the household put money away towards her schooling.

Two causal mechanisms uniquely influenced the households in this study not to employ a domestic worker at all. The first causal mechanism behind the decision not to hire a domestic worker revolved around cultural values. This causal mechanism may be unique to black African, female-headed households who may feel uncomfortable giving older women instructions while they also do not trust hiring younger women, who may be seen by the employer as irresponsible. The second causal mechanism behind the decision not to hire a domestic worker revolved around single-headed households. Findings showed that some middle-class households choose not to hire domestic workers because the household consists of one person who feels he or she is capable of doing the domestic chores without help.

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Appendix A: Sample Consent Form



University of Cape Town

Sociology Department

Consent Form

Working Title of the Honours Thesis:

DOMESTIC WORK IN CAPE TOWN: AN EXPLORATION INTO THE
EMPLOYMENT TRENDS OF DOMESTIC WORK FROM 1995 - 2015

Names of Maters student:

Kathryn Emma Wooldridge

Name of Supervisor:

Professor Owen Crankshaw

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Nature of the research:

A Semi-Structured Interview as part of a Master's Minor Dissertation for UCT. The purpose of the interview is to explore some of reasons behind employment trends in domestic work in Cape Town.

Participant's involvement:

What's involved: A Semi-Structured Interview

- I agree to participate in this research project.
- I have read this consent form and the information it contains and had the opportunity to ask questions before the interview commenced.
- I agree to my responses being used for a Master's Dissertation on condition that my privacy is respected, subject to the following:
I understand that my personal details may be included in the research but that I will remain anonymous.
- I understand that interview will be audio recorded.
- I understand that I am under no obligation to take part in this interview.
- I understand I have the right to withdraw from this interview at any stage.
- I understand that the document will be available to readers in a university library in printed form, and possibly in electronic form as well.

Signature of Participant: _____

Contact details of participant: _____

Signature of Master's student: _____

Name of Master's student: _____

Date: _____

Appendix B: Participant Information

Table 9: Participant Information

| Participant 1 | |
|---|--|
| Dates of Interviews | |
| First Interview | 21/10/2017 |
| Follow-Up Interview | 21/05/2019 |
| Details of Participant | |
| Age | Not provided |
| Home Language | English |
| Race | White |
| Gender | Male |
| Occupation | Innkeeper at Airbnb |
| Place of residence | Pinelands, Cape Town |
| Number of years living at place of residence | Approximately 5 years |
| Children | No |
| Partner | Yes, wife |
| Partner's Occupation | Consultant Paediatric Surgeon at Red Cross |
| Details of Participant's Most Current Domestic Worker | |
| Age | 33 |
| Race | Black |
| Gender | Female |
| Place of Residence | Samora Machel, Cape Town |
| Home Language | Xhosa |
| Home Country | South Africa |
| Participant 2 | |
| Dates of Interviews | |
| First Interview | 11/11/2017 |
| Follow-Up Interview | 10/06/2019 |
| Details of Participant | |
| Age | 28 |
| Home Language | English |
| Race | White |
| Gender | Female |
| Occupation | Clinical Research Coordinator |
| Place of residence | Milnerton, Cape Town |
| Number of years living at place of residence | 4 years |
| Children | No |
| Partner | Yes, husband |
| Partner's Occupation | Financial controller |
| Details of Most Current Domestic Worker | |
| Age | 59 |
| Race | African |
| Gender | Female |
| Place of Residence | Philippi, Cape Town |
| Home Language | isiXhosa |
| Home Country | South Africa |

| Participant 3 | |
|--|--|
| Dates of Interviews | |
| First Interview | 6/01/2018 |
| Follow-Up Interview | 21/05/2019 |
| Details of Participant | |
| Age | 66 |
| Home Language | Afrikaans |
| Race | White |
| Gender | Female |
| Occupation | NA |
| Place of residence | Table View, Cape Town |
| Number of years living at place of residence | 14 |
| Children | Yes, but grown up and not in the house |
| Partner | Yes, husband |
| Partner's occupation | Quality surveyor |
| Details of Most Current Domestic Worker | |
| Age | Around 45 |
| Race | Black |
| Gender | Female |
| Place of Residence | Khayelitsha, Cape Town |
| Home Language | isiXhosa |
| Home Country | South Africa |
| Participant 4 | |
| Dates of Interviews | |
| First Interview | 6/01/2018 |
| Details of Participant | |
| Age | 41 |
| Home Language | Afrikaans |
| Race | White |
| Gender | Male |
| Occupation | Sales consultant |
| Place of residence | Table View, Cape Town |
| Number of years living at place of residence | Not provided |
| Children | No |
| Partner | No |
| Partner's occupation | NA |
| Details of Most Current Domestic Worker | |
| Age | 56 |
| Race | Black |
| Gender | Female |
| Place of Residence | Polokwane, Limpopo |
| Home Language | Unkown |
| Home Country | South Africa |
| Participant 5 | |
| Dates of Interviews | |
| First Interview | 13/01/2018 |
| Follow-Up Interview | 14/05/2019 |

| Details of Participant | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| Age | 40 |
| Home Language | Afrikaans |
| Race | White |
| Gender | Female |
| Occupation | Home executive [unpaid work at home] |
| Place of residence | Melkbos, Cape Town |
| Number of years living at place of residence | 8 years |
| Children | Yes, 2 |
| Partner | Yes, husband |
| Partner's occupation | General Manager |
| Details of Most Current Domestic Worker | |
| Age | 42 |
| Race | Black |
| Gender | Female |
| Place of Residence | On participant's property |
| Home Language | Unknown |
| Home Country | Zimbabwe |
| Participant 6 | |
| Date of Interviews | |
| First Interview | 22/04/2018 |
| Follow-Up Interview | 19/05/2019 |
| Details of Participant 6 | |
| Age | 42 |
| Home Language | English |
| Race | Coloured |
| Gender | Male |
| Occupation | Senior Account Manager |
| Place of residence | Milnerton Ridge, Cape Town |
| Number of years living at place of residence | 11 |
| Children | Yes, two (19 and 20 years of age) |
| Partner | Yes, White wife |
| Partner's occupation | Marketing |
| Details of Most Current Domestic Worker | |
| Age | 35 |
| Race | Black |
| Gender | Female |
| Place of Residence | Khayelitsha, Cape Town |
| Home Language | Not sure, but fluent in English |
| Home Country | South Africa |
| Citizenship | South Africa |
| Participant 7 | |
| Dates of Interviews | |
| First Interview | 31/05/2018 |
| Follow-up Interview | 07/01/2020 |
| Details of Participant | |
| Age | 42 |
| Home Language | Afrikaans |

| | |
|---|----------------------------|
| Race | White |
| Gender | Female |
| Occupation | Pharmacist Assistant |
| Place of residence | Milnerton, Cape Town |
| Number of years living at place of residence | 6 years |
| Children | No |
| Partner | No |
| Partner's occupation | NA |
| Living with anyone? | Yes, mother |
| Details of Most Current Domestic Worker | |
| Participant had no domestic worker at the time of the interview | |
| Participant 8 | |
| Dates of Interviews | |
| First Interview | 04/06/2018 |
| Details of Participant | |
| Age | 66 |
| Home Language | English |
| Race | White |
| Gender | Female |
| Occupation | Chef |
| Place of residence | Milnerton Ridge, Cape Town |
| Number of years living at place of residence | 8 |
| Children | Yes, three |
| Partner | Husband |
| Partner's occupation | Interior Designer |
| Details of Most Current Domestic Worker | |
| Participant had no domestic worker at the time of the interview | |
| Participant 9 | |
| Dates of Interviews | |
| First Interview | 05/06/2018 |
| Follow-Up Interview | 08/01/2020 |
| Details of Participant | |
| Age | 67 |
| Home Language | Not provided |
| Race | White |
| Gender | Female |
| Occupation | Lecturer |
| Place of residence | Hout Bay, Cape Town |
| Number of years living at place of residence | 9 |
| Children | Two twins |
| Partner | Not currently |
| Partner's occupation | NA |
| Living with anyone? | No, living alone |
| Details of Most Current Domestic Worker | |
| Participant had no domestic worker at the time of the interview | |
| Participant 10 | |
| Date of Interviews | |

| | |
|--|--|
| First Interview | 09/06/2018 |
| Follow-Up Interview | 24/05/2019 |
| Details of Participant | |
| Age | 37 |
| Home Language | Shona and English |
| Race | Black |
| Gender | Male |
| Occupation | Lecturer |
| Place of residence | Milnerton, Cape Town (but Zimbabwean) |
| Number of years living at place of residence | Eight years |
| Children | One eight year old boy and two year old |
| Partner | Wife |
| Partner's occupation | Waitress |
| Details of Participant's Current Domestic Worker | |
| Age | 23 |
| Race | Black |
| Gender | Female |
| Place of Residence | With employer |
| Home Language | Shona |
| Home Country | Zimbabwe |
| Participant 11 | |
| Dates of Interviews | |
| First Interview | 09/06/2018 |
| Details of Participant | |
| Age | 29 |
| Home Language | Isi Xhosa |
| Race | Black |
| Gender | Female |
| Occupation | Assistant Policy and Strategy Researcher |
| Place of residence | Rosebank, Rondebosch, Cape Town |
| Number of years living at place of residence | 3 years |
| Children | No |
| Partner | No |
| Partner's occupation | NA |
| Living with anyone? | Rents a place with two other ladies |
| Details of Most Current Domestic Worker | |
| Participant had just hired her domestic worker at the time of the interview and did not have details yet | |
| Participant 12 | |
| Date of Interviews | |
| First Interview | 11/06/2018 |
| Follow-Up Interview | 28/05/2019 |
| Details of Participant | |
| Age | 35 |
| Home Language | Afrikaans |
| Race | White |
| Gender | Female |
| Occupation | Administration |

| | |
|---|----------------------------|
| Place of residence | Bellville, Cape Town |
| Number of years living at place of residence | 4 years |
| Children | A baby of six months |
| Partner | Husband |
| Partner's occupation | Business Intelligence IT |
| Details of Participant's Current Domestic Worker | |
| Age | Unknown |
| Race | Black |
| Gender | Female |
| Place of Residence | Unknown |
| Home Language | Unknown |
| Home Country | South Africa |
| Participant 13 | |
| Dates of Interviews | |
| First Interview | 05/04/2018 |
| Details of Participant | |
| Age | 37 |
| Home Language | isi Xhosa |
| Race | Black |
| Gender | Female |
| Occupation | Policy Researcher |
| Place of residence | Rondebosch East, Cape Town |
| Number of years living at place of residence | 5 months |
| Children | 1 small girl |
| Partner | No |
| Partner's occupation | NA |
| Living with anyone? | Her daughter |
| Details of Most Current Domestic Worker | |
| Participant had no domestic worker at the time of the interview | |

Appendix C: Transcripts

Transcript of First Interview with Participant 1

| Details | |
|--|------------------------|
| Date | 21/10/2017 |
| Type of Interview | Face to face interview |
| <i>Pseudonyms have been used in this transcript to protect the identity of the participant and his family.</i> | |

Interviewer: Thank you very much for agreeing to do this interview. I really appreciate it, and thank you for signing my consent form.

Participant 1: It's a pleasure.

Interviewer: So, could you tell me a bit about the domestic workers which you've had work for you in the past?

Participant 1: Um, so, here in Cape Town we've had two domestic workers. Our first domestic worker was a Zimbabwean lady. Uh... we, um... were introduced to her by, um, Sharon's aunt, my wife's aunt, and she worked with us and actually helped out my mother as well for about, ah, about a year, if I remember correctly. She went to Zimbabwe and never came back [laughs] at one stage, so that was then. We then tried a couple of domestic (um, agencies – domestic aid) agencies, and when we found out about what the domestic workers were working, um, we actually canceled that because we felt it was exploitation. So, we then hired our current domestic worker Miriam, and we hired her in our previous house in Thornton, and when we moved here we, um, extended her hours and ja... And she is a Xhosa lady. I'm not sure if she was born here or in the Eastern Cape, but she lives in, uh, Samora Machel.

Interviewer: Okay, and where did you hear about her?

Participant 1: Um, a friend of Marian's who went to school with her – so a long-time friend of hers – has told us about her.

Interviewer: Okay.

Participant 1: Ja.

Interviewer: And, um, so you've had two domestic workers work for you here in Cape Town. Have you ever had any other domestic workers work for you personally, in the past, other than those two?

Participant 1: In the past, Sharon and I didn't have. I have been part of households that have, and... and... so, I was like in communes where we have, uh, employed people jointly. Um, I would battle to tell you details because it was, I was seldom, if ever, the person who was the contracting person so... ja... mm.

Interviewer: Okay... and... um... did any of these domestic workers stay on your property?

Participant 1: No.

Interviewer: No, okay.

Participant 1: So, I mean, I don't know how far back you want me to go, because when I was a child my mom employed somebody who stayed on the property.

Interviewer: Okay.

Participant 1: Yeah but that was [pause]

Interviewer: That's interesting to know. Does she still, um, employ someone?

Participant 1: My mom doesn't, no. No, she doesn't employ anybody at this stage, so, but she's a pensioner and doesn't go to work mostly, so... mm....

Interviewer: Okay. So could you tell me a bit about your family?

Participant 1: Um, yes. So, um, my parents, I mean I'm going back to where I think it's almost relevant in a sense that I was four years old, we were living

in Cape Town, um, and my parents moved up here to Pretoria, and soon afterwards my, uh, parents split up, my... and... so I'm going to just fast forward and say... I don't know how much detail you need?

Interviewer: Anything that's relevant to your... to domestic workers.

Participant 1: Okay so... so... I think, then, maybe a very important point was, um... when... when... before we moved to Pretoria, um, our domestic worker basically carried me on her shoulders for my first two years, and I think that had a very profound effect on me in relation both to domestic workers but also in relation to elder women, Black or White, ja... and so... and I... I think that's pertinent, um, and then, ja, I lived with my mom, and as I said, um, she had a couple of different domestic workers, some who lived on the property and others who didn't, and... and... I think they were always, uh, given authority over us as children. Um, when my mom wasn't around in the afternoons, we were... if we didn't do what the domestic worker said, she would tell my mother and there would be consequences, so... ja... Um, I think that's probably the most, uh, pertinent information. When... when... as we continued growing up, we had various domestic workers, but we moved around the... the... country quite literally, so it was... we never had, you know, I never developed a bond like I did with the, um, lady who carried me on her back to the extent that, when we were living in Venda, um, I remember my mom receiving a letter from that domestic worker and me, um, crying because I just felt... she broke her arm and the letter was... to... and so... it was... that sort of affected me. Um, but ja... then... ah... I don't know if my dad, because I wasn't living with my dad after they split up, how often, if ever, he had a domestic worker, um, and so that was never really an effect on me in that sense. Um ja...

Interviewer: Okay, um, so you mentioned you have a wife. Do you stay with anyone else?

Participant 1: No, we have had tenants for most of the time that we have lived in this house, and that was when we first moved in. We fixed up a room, and

we had some exchange students for four months, and after that we had a colleague staying with us for two and a half years, um, who's recently left about three months ago, ja...

Interviewer: And do you have any children?

Participant 1: No

Interviewer: No, okay. Um, so going back to your experience with your domestic workers, do you think that that's affected the way you employ domestic workers today in any way?

Participant 1: Yes, I mean, I think it's... it's both that and my general upbringing. Um, my parents were always on the, um... on... on... the left of the political spectrum, so we were taught to respect all people no matter their skin colour. Um, but also the way my parents treated domestic workers gave us a model of how to, um, treat people so, mm...

Interviewer: That's wonderful. And so tell me, I think you've already told me, but is there anything else you'd like to tell me about how you came to... to hire your current domestic worker?

Participant 1: Um no, not... I... I don't think there was anything pertinent. And like I say, um, it was, um, a friend of Sharon's who recommended her. We employed her initially as a half day, then, when we moved here, it became a full day and then two full days a week. Um, and I think that was also just our stages in life. So, when we first employed her, I was studying full time so I had more time on my hands, but when we moved here, soon afterwards I started working full time, um, so because it was a bigger house, we extended it to one day, and when I started working fulltime we extended it to two days a week.

Interviewer: Awesome, so you've already answered some of my other questions I was going to ask [laughter].

Participant 1: [Laughter]

Interviewer: It's like you're anticipating them. Um, so you mentioned that you tried a few other ladies, and then you decided not to go with them because you were going through an organisation, and you felt they weren't treated fairly. Is that correct?

Participant 1: Yes.

Interviewer: So, then you found this person in a, not through an organisation, through a family member?

Participant 1: Mm... ja... no... Well, the first domestic worker that we hired was through a family member.

Interviewer: Oh yes.

Participant 1: And the second one was through a friend.

Interviewer: Through a friend?

Participant 1: Ja.

Interviewer: Okay sorry.

Participant 1: Ja.

Interviewer: Just to confirm. And how long has your current domestic worker worked for you then?

Participant 1: Uh, in total, I think it's about four and a half, maybe five years even, ja... Sharon has all of the dates, and she handles all of the contractual side of things, but it was before we moved here, and we've lived here for four years. Well, just over four and a half, no just under four and a half years. And I can't remember how long she was with us there but, uh, I don't think it was as much as a year on that side.

Interviewer: Okay, um, and do you have a contract with your domestic worker?

Participant 1: yes we do.

Interviewer: You do, um...

Participant 1: We are fully legally compliant, and we pay UIF.

Interviewer: That's amazing [laughter].

Participant 1: [Laughter].

Interviewer: I'm not here to judge though, I'm here to understand.

Participant 1: [Laughter].

Interviewer: Um, so you've said she works how many days a week?

Participant 1: Two... two days a week, and ... it's... um... I think with transport, um, challenges, that she currently has... it are normally about 9 o'clock until 4 o'clock.

Interviewer: Okay.

Participant 1: Um, she has had situations where she only arrives after 10 o'clock, but ...it's not... it hasn't been laziness. We've heard announcements of trains being delayed and things like that, so, mm...

Interviewer: Okay, so could you maybe explain, um, have you ever considered having your domestic worker stay ...on... on your property?

Participant 1: Um, not at this stage, no. No ... um... and I think primarily because we need the income from our, um, garden flat to help pay for the bond ... uh... so....

Interviewer: Okay, and would you ever consider having that?

Participant 1: I think so. I... I think, from my own upbringing, um, having had our domestic worker play such a prominent role in my upbringing, for me, it makes more sense to have a domestic worker/au pair than have a domestic worker and then a separate au pair. Um, and I think, also, we

want to make sure that our children can speak Xhosa and things like that, so I think all of those things contribute to... ja...

Interviewer: Mm okay, um, so ...you... you've mentioned that you have a contract with your domestic worker. So can I ask, like, what was your reasoning behind that? Did you, um, was there any particular reason you wanted to sign a contract with her? I know some people don't feel comfortable signing contracts... so...

Participant 1: Mm, I think ...the... the overriding thing was simply that it's a legal requirement, and ...so... um... yeah... I know enough about contract law not to fear a contract, let me put it that way. Um, I also know that certain procedures, whether a person has a written contract or not, you actually still have to follow the law if you need to dismiss somebody, all of those sorts of thing, so, uh, not having a written contract doesn't make any difference, um, in terms of the law and how the domestic worker is protected.

Interviewer: Okay, um, so what type of work does your domestic worker do for you?

Participant 1: Um, cleaning and ironing is ...the... by far the majority of the work. Um, I can't think of anything else that she actually does. Um, she doesn't get involved outside of the house. We have a Gardner who also works twice a week ... and... um... ja... So, I mean, when I say cleaning, its dusting, mopping, vacuuming ...I... I... I'm hoping cleaning and ironing [laughter in his voice]. Ja washing the clothes as well ... it's... ja... so...

Interviewer: Okay, and does she cook for you?

Participant 1: No, we ...have... we... we... actually ... um... got somebody in to do ... um... training... cooking training, and she can cook, and she's not bad at all [laughter], but I think that the recipes that she was taught ... Sharon and I changed our diet, and so all of the recipes she was taught

were wrong and ...so... ag... ja... um... it's not something that we, um... We might consider it again actually.

Interviewer: Okay.

Participant 1: So... mm...

Interviewer: Um, so, your previous domestic workers, did they do the same type of work for you or...

Participant 1: Mm, ja, pretty much.

Interviewer: Nothing more nothing less?

Participant 1: Ja, I mean I think we both do a bit more ironing now that I'm working fulltime, but ... um... ja... no... nothing more nothing less, ja.

Interviewer: Mm and, um, do you know what the minimum wage is for your domestic worker?

Participant 1: Um ...I... I know we are significantly higher than [inaudible], but I mean, I think it might be R13.20 per hour, or something like that.

Interviewer: Yeah it's close.

Participant 1: Okay.

Interviewer: It's actually less.

Participant 1: Okay.

Interviewer: I think for most places it's about R12.42, and I think for other places it's about R11.31.

Participant 1: Is that like rural... the urban/rural split?

Interviewer: I would imagine so, ja.

Participant 1: Mm, mm...

Interviewer: So, I looked it up this morning ... so... and it is quite low.

Participant 1: Ja

Interviewer: Mm, and do you know what other legislation your domestic worker falls under, just out of curiosity?

Participant 1: Um, so with UIF I suspect there's workman's compensation and things like that that ... um... are ... uh... applicable. I mean, I know this more from HR at work than... than... anything else but ...um...ja... So, I mean ...the ... the... most of the... the legislation that covers Basic Conditions of the Employment Act cover the, um, domestic workers as well. So, I know there's a separate sector, and there are separate, um, Sectoral Determinations related to it, and i don't know every single intricacy of that, ja.

Interviewer: You know a lot more than a lot of people I think.

Participant 1: [laughter]

Interviewer: [laughter]

Participant 1: More for career purposes, ja...

Interviewer: And, um, how do you feel about the minimum wage and these other legislations?

Participant 1: Mm, so I think ... I'm... I... I dunno. To answer that question, I've got to talk, in a sense, about economics in general and that.

Interviewer: No, that's fine.

Participant 1: Um, and I think that, um, a purely capitalist approach to, uh, economic systems is... is... not going to actually assist our country the way it's needed, which doesn't mean I don't appreciate certain freedoms, and things like that. It's just, I think there needs to be more intervention from government ...um ... and... and I'm incredibly frustrated with government as well, so it's not that I think government can do better

than a free market economy. I think, ideally, you need ...to come... a government which is guiding interventions which are necessary from time to time. So ...so...I don't have a problem with minimum wage, um, other than maybe it's a little bit too low. Um... the... um... I'm kind of thinking back to an article which I read. It was now more than five years ago, but it was, um, a couple, Nigel Branken and his wife, who lived in, um, Hillbrow at the time, and they did an investigation, and they wanted to see, well ...what's a... what is a realistic minimum wage for a person to live off with a family of four, and I think, back then, they said a family of four needed about R10 000.00 a month in order to, you know, survive. Um... and so they... and they... they said okay well, in that case, um, they are making the assumption that the husband will work and the wife will work, and so the wife who was a domestic worker should get a R5 000.00 salary if she was working fulltime. That was, um those years ago. Um... and so... ja... I mean, I think ... we... um... It was a Christian couple, and I think Sharon and I, as Christians, felt this is appropriate and, and, we used that as a guidance to actually determine what an appropriate hourly rate would be... so... mm...

Interviewer: Okay, um, have you ever had a domestic worker go to the CCMA?

Participant 1: no.

Interviewer: No, I would imagine not [laughter].

Participant 1: [laughter].

Interviewer: Um, have you had... mm... I've asked that before... already... mm... sorry...

Participant 1: No problem.

Interviewer: So when your ...domestic worker... your first domestic worker here in Cape Town went to Zimbabwe and never came back again, did that affect the way you employed a new domestic worker in any way?

Participant 1: I don't think so. Um, I think ...we... because she was Zimbabwean... um... I think the only thing that truly bothered us was that she didn't actually say, you know, we couldn't get hold of her. We found out that she was fine because of family connections here in Cape Town, so it wasn't a case of... um... of...uh... something bad happened to her, and she was an elderly lady, and I think she just wanted to retire with her grandkids or something like that... um... but no, it didn't affect... no... no... ja... [laughter].

Interviewer: Okay. That's all the questions I have. Is there anything you would like to add, that you feel like you'd like to say?

Participant 1: Mm, I don't know. I mean, I think I have never ...um... this is the most in-depth I've applied my mind in any one time to the whole concept of, um, employment around domestic workers. I ...I... think that it's a... I think, from a country situation, I think that, um better engagement with domestic workers, and like I say, actually working with them to raise children, makes sense for me in terms of building bridges and, um, creating a better society. So, I think that it's probably something which I would encourage, is to actually help people to not think of it just as an employer/employee relationship, but actually almost extended family, and growing community and building bridges... so... ja...

Interviewer: Well thank you. Thank you very much. That was very informative.

Participant 1: Pleasure.

Transcript of Follow-Up Interview with Participant 1

| Details | |
|--|-------------------------------|
| Date | 21/05/2019 |
| Type of Interview | Questions answered over email |
| <i>Pseudonyms have been used in this transcript to protect the identity of the participant and his family.</i> | |

Interviewer: What was your job description at the time of our previous interview?

Participant 1: Airbnb inn-keeper.

Interviewer: What is your wife's occupation?

Participant 1: Consultant Paediatric Surgeon at Red Cross War Memorial Children's Hospital.

Interviewer: Was her job the same at the time of our last interview?

Participant 1: Yes.

Interviewer: Was your domestic worker a South African citizen?

Participant 1: Yes.

Interviewer: In our previous interview, you mentioned that you have had tenants living on your property since you moved into your house. You explained that you had exchange students for four months as well as a colleague staying with you. Did these people stay in your garden flat or in your house?

Participant 1: In our house.

Interviewer: Could you tell me how large your house is? (Square meters, number of rooms, size of your yard etc.)

Participant 1: The property is 960 square meters. The house is 196 square meters (including the garden flat). There are three bedrooms, two bathrooms, kitchen, scullery, lounge and dining room.

Interviewer: In our previous interview, you mentioned that none of the domestic workers you have had work for you have been live-in domestic workers. Could you describe why this is?

Participant 1: I have not applied my mind to this, but probably because they have resided in the city and have had access to transport to our house from theirs. A secondary reason would also relate to the amount of money

one can deduct for living in. The amount is so small that it does not reflect what we can earn from renting the rooms/garden flat out.

Miriam is also married with two children, so it would need to be space for a family of four.

Interviewer: Would you ever consider having a domestic worker live in a room in your house?

Participant 1: Yes.

Interviewer: Why?

Participant 1: I grew up with a domestic worker living on our properties and it was a natural phenomenon to me. It was a good experience for me as a child, and I hope my children can experience it too.

Interviewer: Would having children change the working conditions of your domestic worker as compared to her working conditions at the time of the interview?

Participant 1: Yes.

Interviewer: Would you want her to live on your property?

Participant 1: Possibly, depending on a number of other matters. A major change since our interview is that my mother has moved to our house. While we are in America, my mother lives in our house, and when we get back she will move into the garden flat. Despite this, we may need to increase the days our domestic worker works, or hire a separate nanny.

Interviewer: Would you want her to also work as an au pair?

Participant 1: Yes, but that also depends on her desire to do so. She is currently employed by two other employers and she may not want to put all her eggs in one basket, for instance.

Interviewer: Would you want her to teach your children Xhosa?

Participant 1: Yes, this is very important to us.

Interviewer: Would her salary, hours and/or other duties change?

Participant 1: Yes. With an increase in expectations and probably hours, we would adjust her salary.

Interviewer: In our last interview, you mentioned that for a while you and your wife went through some domestic worker agencies to find a domestic worker. You decided not use these agencies because you felt that they

were exploiting these domestic workers. Could you explain how you felt these agencies were exploiting the domestic workers?

Participant 1: The primary exploitation related to their wages. Of the fees we were paying to the agencies, very little was seeing its way through to the workers. We didn't feel good facilitating this kind of exploitation.

Interviewer: When using these agencies, how did your employment relationship with the domestic workers work?

Interviewer: Did you pay the agencies directly?

Participant 1: Yes.

Interviewer: What other role did the agencies play?

Participant 1: If the worker was ill, they would provide another one, so there were essentially no sick days.

Interviewer: Were there any other reasons why you and your wife decided not to hire a domestic worker through an agency?

Participant 1: Yes, they couldn't guarantee that they would always supply the same domestic worker, and we felt that we would like to develop a relationship with someone, rather than just pay for labour.

Interviewer: In our last interview, you mentioned that your current domestic worker cooked for you for a while. You explained that she stopped cooking for you because you and your wife's diet changed and the recipes she knew did not accommodate for your new diet. Could you describe why you wanted her to cook for you at first?

Participant 1: We wanted to save time on meal preparation, and because our hours were fairly taxing.

Interviewer: Which meals did she cook for you (breakfast, lunch, supper, in bulk)?

Participant 1: Primarily supper, but not too much in bulk.

Interviewer: What type of recipes was she taught?

Participant 1: I can't remember well, but there was one curry dish and one cheesecake recipe.

Interviewer: Why did your diet change?

Participant 1: We needed lower Glycaemic Index foods because our energy levels were too low.

Interviewer: In our previous interview you mentioned that you extended your domestic worker's hours. You mentioned that this was because you got

a full time job and because your new house was larger than the old one. Were there any other reasons for extending her hours?

Participant 1: No.

Interviewer: Do you know how your domestic worker felt about this?

Participant 1: Yes, she was generally very happy because she was not employed on those days. At that stage she also only had one child, so it was a lot easier for her then. When she fell pregnant with her second child, I think she reduced hours at one of her other employers.

Interviewer: Did you negotiate with her regarding the hours?

Participant 1: Yes, especially the daily starting hours, as she was struggling a bit with the transport situation (trains being unreliable).

Interviewer: Did any of the regulations surrounding domestic workers (eg. UIF, minimum wage etc.) affected the number of hours or days a week that you had your domestic worker work for you?

Participant 1: Initially yes, we kept it to 24 hours a month to avoid legislation, but when we saw we couldn't cope with 24 hours a month, we didn't just increase it minimally, we increased it substantially.

Interviewer: What was your hourly, daily, weekly or monthly rate for your domestic worker at the time of the previous interview?

Participant 1: I think I said at the time that it was about R28 per hour, but I have subsequently found out it was closer to R35 per hour.

Interviewer: Did you negotiate the price with her?

Participant 1: To be honest, I don't know. I think we made her an offer which was significantly above the market rate and she was happy with it.

Interviewer: How much do you feel the minimum wage should be for domestic workers?

Participant 1: I think it should be based on good academic research as to what the living wage for a family is, and then an appropriate hourly wage should be calculated from there. So for instance, if a living wage for a family of four is R13,680 per month split between two adults (i.e. R6,840), that would equate to R38 per hour. I'm not sure what is considered a living wage, but I imagine it is in that order.

Interviewer: Would you be willing or able to pay this?

Participant 1: Yes.

Interviewer: Why?

Participant 1: Primarily because of my religious beliefs that it is important to pay someone enough to live and eat without stressing where their next meal will be coming from (or how to cope in other economic areas of their life).

Interviewer: If the government were to up the minimum wage for domestic workers, how much would be too much for you to keep your domestic worker on?

Participant 1: I'm not sure. We would probably reduce the number of hours so that we could keep her employed. So she would receive the same salary working fewer hours.

Interviewer: What is the maximum amount that you would be willing to pay your domestic worker and why?

Participant 1: Probably about R4,000 a month at this stage. Currently she is getting close to R38 per hour, and if the hourly rate went up significantly, we would probably have to reduce her hours to 12 hours a week, as opposed to the current 16 hours a week.

Interviewer: Do you have any other comments you would like to make?

Participant 1: I think the current minimum wage is way too low. I also think that Christians who think the market should determine wages must choose whether they worship the market or Jesus. They can't serve both, and Jesus is not happy with the current minimum wage.

Transcript of First Interview with Participant 2

| Details | |
|--|------------------------|
| Date | 11/11/2017 |
| Type of Interview | Face to face interview |
| <i>Pseudonyms have been used in this transcript to protect the identity of the participant and his family.</i> | |

Interviewer: Do you remember having a domestic worker at home as a child?

Participant 2: Yes.

Interviewer: Um, could you tell me about your relationship with your childhood domestic worker or workers?

Participant 2: Um, he was part of the family.

Interviewer: A he?

Participant 2: It was a he, and he was part of our family. So, he lived with us, and he basically helped my dad do everything. So, he helped us in the garden, and he did the dishes and the ironing and he was with us, I think, for well over twenty years. So, my dad knew him as a small child. And then, when we moved back to South Africa, my dad actually found him and then employed him, and we are actually still in contact with him. My dad still pays his phone bill and all of that.

Interviewer: So, you say when you moved back to South Africa, so were you in a different country when he helped you as a child?

Participant 2: No, so my dad knew him, and then my dad moved away, and then when we moved to South Africa for the first time, then my dad actually found him. His brother was working for my brother, and then my dad just employed him.

Interviewer: Okay, so was your domestic worker a live-in domestic worker?

Participant 2: Yes.

Interviewer: Um, has your experience of your domestic worker as a child impacted what you look for in a domestic worker today?

Participant 2: Yes.

Interviewer: How so?

Participant 2: Um, I think when you have somebody that lives with you, as terrible as this might sound, but ...you kind of... they're trained in a certain way. So, like my dad knew exactly how he wanted his things to be ironed, and ...like... um... the... the discipline of, you know, he would come in every morning the same time. Every Thursday he would do this, that kind of thing. He ...he... knew how to clean. He knew how to do certain things. So, now when I look for a cleaning, or a domestic worker, they won't iron the same way that he did, but I think it's also because they probably work for five different people whose needs are all different, versus him who he worked full-time for us every single day.

Interviewer: Um, tell me how you came to hire your current domestic worker.

Participant 2: Um, I think it was a neighbour that told us about her. Um, actually, no, I lie. It was, uh, one of the domestic workers in our complex, and at the time we were looking for someone and she said, no, she's got a friend who's in need of a job, and that's how we came to hire her.

Interviewer: Okay, and ...what... why did you decide to hire your current domestic worker?

Participant 2: Because she was brilliant at what she did, um, and also because we could see that she had come from a household like ours where she had worked full-time for a family, um, and she knew exactly what she needed to do without being told what to do. She's amazing.

Interviewer: That's great. And, so, you've already told me where you heard about her. So, um, were there other potential domestic workers that you considered hiring at the time when you were looking for a domestic worker?

Participant 2: No.

Interviewer: No, okay. Have you ever hired a domestic worker through a domestic worker hiring company?

Participant 2: Uh, no, but our landlords did it before we moved into our place. Um... uh... can I say the company?

Interviewer: Ja.

Participant 2: So, I think it was through a company called Marvellous ...Marvellous...Maids, and I think that's when they send through, like, a whole team of people to come in. So, that was prior to us moving in. So there was no furniture. So that's the only exposure I've had to something like that.

Interviewer: Okay, and that was to clean up the place before you moved in?

Participant 2: Yes.

Interviewer: Okay, um, how long has your current domestic worker worked for you?

Participant 2: I think it's been... I'm not sure how many months. It's been less than a year though. We were switching between domestic workers, and ...she's... I'm not sure how long she's been with us – like seven months or so.

Interviewer: Okay, and you mentioned that, um, you chose her because she was excellent at her work. So did you have, like, a trial run with her?

Participant 2: Uh, we did. So, we had her come in one Saturday while we were home ...um...uh... also, we kind-of learned our lesson. So, we're very trusting, um, so, we thought that the best thing to do was to be home to see... well, um... to see how she coped and how she did certain things, um, and she just went with it. So, we didn't need to tell her anything.

Interviewer: Okay, um, is your domestic worker a South African citizen?

Participant 2: I think so.

Interviewer: Okay, would you prefer to hire a South African or a foreign domestic worker? Do you have a preference?

Participant 2: No.

Interviewer: No... and, um... sorry, lost my place now... um... Is your domestic worker from Cape Town? [Participant gestures]. No idea, okay. No, that's fine. Um, do you employ your domestic worker full-time or part-time?

Participant 2: Part-time, once a week.

Interviewer: Once a week, okay. And why did you make this decision?

Participant 2: Cause my husband and I are never home.

Interviewer: So you needed someone?

Participant 2: We needed someone. We're so spoiled that we needed someone to help us in our tiny flat.

Interviewer: Is there a reason you didn't hire her full-time?

Participant 2: Um, there's just no need for it, because we're never home... so, there's no need for somebody to be there the whole week. Um, so it was actually once... uh, was... we hired her for twice a month, um, and then my parents filled in the other two days in the month... um... but since my parents moved away we actually felt so bad that we've just taken her on once a week just to fill that slot.

Interviewer: Okay, um, so what is your hourly or your daily rate for your domestic worker?

Participant 2: So we pay her R200.00 a day.

Interviewer: Um, do you provide your... This is probably more... um... These questions probably suit someone who has a full-time domestic worker, but I'm gonna ask these questions anyway. So, do you provide your domestic worker with sick leave or holidays?

Participant 2: Ja. So, like, now she told us that her father isn't well, and by all means, it's not gonna bother us at all. Then I just need to clean my place myself. I'm not gonna be upset about that.

Interviewer: And do you pay her when she's gone, when she's taken the sick leave?

Participant 2: Um, we try to compensate in a way. So, if I know that something hasn't gone well for her, and I know that she has lost a week or two of work, then I'll actually just give her a little bit extra food, or money or something just to help.

Interviewer: Okay, um, and do you give her any increases? I mean, you haven't even had her for a full year.

Participant 2: No. Maybe next year, once the six percent has hit everybody.

Interviewer: Six percent?

Participant 2: Increase.

- Interviewer: Oh, oh yes, okay.
- Participant 2:** Inflation.
- Interviewer: And... um... I... ja... this is really suited more to someone who has a full-time domestic worker, but do you help her with her pension or unemployment benefits at all?
- Participant 2:** No.
- Interviewer: No, okay. Um, does your domestic worker live on your property?
- Participant 2:** No.
- Interviewer: Um, is there any particular reason? Is it because you've got a, such a small flat and...
- Participant 2:** Ja, no, also because she only comes once a week, and also, our flat, it's a two bedroom place, second storey. So there... there... wouldn't even be any space for her to stay with us.
- Interviewer: Okay, um, do you have a contract with your domestic worker?
- Participant 2:** No.
- Interviewer: No. Um, would you ever consider having a domestic worker live on your property?
- Participant 2:** Absolutely, if I had the space.
- Interviewer: Okay, and ...um... could you explain why you don't have a contract with your domestic worker?
- Participant 2:** It ...it... actually never came up. I know to look at her ID, and that was just because of the security... um... the complex needs, but it's... it's... never come up. I think we kind of filled a void for her, and she did the same for us, and there was just no need for it, especially since she was only working for us twice a month.
- Interviewer: Um, so what type of work does your domestic worker do for you?
- Participant 2:** So, she cleans our flat and she does a bit of the ironing. Um, I do all our laundry. She just will pack it away for us. Um, she changes the bedding, and I think she will unpack the dishwasher and she cleans our outside for us.
- Interviewer: Okay, um, do you know what the minimum wage is for your domestic worker?

Participant 2: I checked online. It was something... I know that we're paying her more than what the minimum wage is, cause I saw online that you've got a minimum wage for people that are employed full-time, and then you've got the one that are employed, like us, on a daily basis, and I know that we're giving her more than what's expected. Isn't it something like R87.00 or something for the day – something ridiculous?

Interviewer: So they... they only give hourly rates. So, hourly, then weekly, then monthly. So the hourly is R14.54, which comes to like a R112.00 a day.

Participant 2: Ja, it's very little. Um, and, I mean, to think about it, she doesn't even work full day for us. I think she starts at 08:00 and come 13:00 she's done cause our place is so small, but I think the transport... sorry... is so expensive that ...it doesn't... it doesn't make any sense to give somebody R112.00, but it costs them R50.00 to come to you.

Interviewer: Ja, so how do you feel about the minimum wage?

Participant 2: It's ridiculous, especially since people need transport to come to you, to leave, then what are you left with, and then you're still supposed to provide for a family and for yourself.

Interviewer: Mm. Do you know what other legislation and benefits cover your domestic worker?

Participant 2: I know for those that are employed full-time there's UIF, cause that's what my dad did. He used to cover UIF. He used to cover pension. Um, and then naturally you've got that whole minimum wage that you need to go by, which I think it's a thousand... how much is it for the month – R1 300.00 or R1 400.00?

Interviewer: The monthly minimum wage for a full-time domestic worker... it's now R2 422.54.

Participant 2: But that's not only a domestic worker. That's in general, isn't it?

Interviewer: Um, I dunno. This one is ...specific... specifically for domestic workers. It could, um, cover other people as well, but I looked this up on the Department of Labour's website, but domestic worker includes, in their definition, gardeners as well

and drivers... ja...

Participant 2:

That's so little.

Interviewer:

It is, ja. So they're also, apparently, covered by the Occupational Health and Safety Act, and obviously the Basic Conditions of Employment Act and they have the opportunity to go to the CCMA if they're unhappy.

Participant 2:

Would that be with or without a contract though? Can you go to the CCMA if you don't have a contract with someone?

Interviewer:

You know, that's a good question. I can look that up and I'll let you know.

Participant 2:

Ja, because often contracts are there to protect ...you... you... yourself and your employer.

Interviewer:

So, it is probably for domestic workers who don't [meant to say do] have contracts, but because domestic work is such an interesting type of work, you know, you're working in someone's house and it's already very informal, I wonder if there isn't, like, some provision for domestic workers without contracts to go as well, but let me... I'll find out for you.

Participant 2:

Cause I presume that most people are like us. They don't have contracts. It's actually quite shocking, but...

Interviewer:

And I think you only have to sign a contract with your domestic worker... if... if they are full-time, but I can also let you know if you're interested. Okay, um, do you know if your domestic worker is part of a union?

Participant 2:

No.

Interviewer:

Do you see your domestic worker as part of the family?

Participant 2:

I think so. I think she's integrated in my family quite well, especially since she's working for my folks and for us, um, and we give her everything that we can. So, ja.

Interviewer:

And how do you feel this impacts your employment relationship with her?

Participant 2:

I think, in a way, we kind of feel personally responsible for her when she does work for us and I know that our neighbours also hire her. So, whenever something goes wrong we all kind of chip

in and try and help her as best as we can.

Interviewer: Okay, and, um, do you pay, like payment in kind in any way? I know some people provide other things instead of money.

Participant 2: Above and beyond her salary?

Interviewer: Mm [yes]

Participant 2: Ja

Interviewer: So, what kind of stuff do you ...

Participant 2: So we give her food, we give her clothes. [long pause]

Interviewer: So have you had a different domestic worker work for you before?

Participant 2: Yes.

Interviewer: How many domestic workers have you had work for you before your current domestic worker, personally – not like your childhood, but you yourself?

Participant 2: Um... it's... it's a bit difficult to answer. So, when I was a student, um, I was sharing a house with two other people. During that time, we had one, then I moved, and then I had another one, and then I moved to Cape Town, and then I've had... two since I've been in Cape Town... three since I've been in Cape Town.

Interviewer: Three including you current domestic worker?

Participant 2: Yes.

Interviewer: Okay, so did any of these domestic workers live on your property?

Participant 2: No.

Interviewer: Um, could you tell me why they no longer work for you?

Participant 2: Um, well, I will speak about the three that were here in Cape Town. Um, the first one, shame, I think she was just too old. So, she would come in, and the first thing she'd do is she would make herself breakfast and coffee, and then she'd spend two hours watching TV, and then she'd clean a little bit, and then it would snack time again, and then she wouldn't even be halfway through our flat and it would be 17:00. So, she spent more... shame, I mean, I can understand. She was old. Um, so that's the

one reason, and then the other one after that, um, she wasn't very good at what she did, and she broke a lot. So, she actually cost us more, unfortunately, than what she was worth. That sounds terrible... but... ja...

Interviewer: And did you ask these domestic workers to leave, or how did that happen?

Participant 2: By chance, no. The first one left on her own will. The second one went to Zim [Zimbabwe]. She went AWOL for a few months and actually never contacted us when she came back. Um, so we didn't hunt her out. So... we... we gave her a few months, and then we went ahead and hired the third one.

Interviewer: Okay... um... so, did your experiences with your ...previous... previous domestic workers change the way you hired your current domestic worker?

Participant 2: Yes.

Interviewer: How so?

Participant 2: So, I think the first two we actually just left our key in the cubby for them and said, 'there we go, have at it'. So, that was also our fault. Uh, we didn't train them in any way um... so now, with the third one, we've made sure to be there the first day or two or three when she did work for us, um, to ensure that she did everything the way that we wanted her to do things for us; and luckily she was just so amazing that, you know, it didn't require much input from our side.

Interviewer: Um, and has it affected, in any other ways, the way you interact with your current domestic worker – the previous experiences?

Participant 2: No, not really. I think, with the other two, we were also not home so much. So, I think it's different when you're home and they're working, um, because we're not home full day, there's not even much interaction that's happening which is quite bad, because I realise now with the questions you're asking, I don't know much about her and that's terrible.

Interviewer: Um... so... but don't worry, I'm not judging you. I'm just here to understand. Um, so, do you know if any of your previous

- domestic workers were South African citizens or migrants?
- Participant 2:** The one was South African and the other one was Zimbabwean.
- Interviewer: Okay, and did they have similar duties to your current domestic worker?
- Participant 2:** They had exactly the same, ja.
- Interviewer: Okay, did you have contracts with any of your previous domestic workers?
- Participant 2:** No.
- Interviewer: Um, so I assume ...you... you... well, I shouldn't assume. Did... you... did things work the same way in the way you paid them in kind and with money?
- Participant 2:** Everything was the same way, except we pay this lady a lot more, or not a lot more, but we pay her a substantial amount more than we did the other two, um, just because she comes from further. So, we try and compensate her for her transport.
- Interviewer: Okay, have you ever had a domestic worker go to the CCMA?
- Participant 2:** No.
- Interviewer: And I will find out about that ... [contracts] for you.
- Participant 2:** So, I know my dad had a contract with our domestic worker and that was, like I said, he used to pay the UIF and pension and all of that because he was full-time and I think he was actually part of a union as well, um, but just because he was, like, an upstanding citizen in the community as well, but... that was... that was my dad. That wasn't me.
- Interviewer: Okay... and... um... I should have asked at the beginning, but, um, could you tell me a bit about your family? So do you live alone... do you live... You keep saying we.
- Participant 2:** We being me and my husband. So, it's just the two of us.
- Interviewer: Okay, and you don't have any children?
- Participant 2:** No, we do have two dogs now though.
- Interviewer: Two dogs? And do you expect your, or ask your domestic worker to do anything for the dogs at home?
- Participant 2:** No, so she's actually amazing with them, because she knows them from my parents' house. So... and she, she... I mean, we

never once asked her to clean up after them. I usually make sure to do that. I'm very embarrassed, but she goes above and beyond and she does it anyway... so, ja.... and that's not something I expect anybody to do cause that's, like, you don't pay somebody to do that. [laughs]

Interviewer: And if you have kids, if you plan to have kids in the future, would you ever want a domestic worker to, like, look after your children at all?

Participant 2: No, because it's not her responsibility.

Interviewer: Okay, so you wouldn't want a nanny?

Participant 2: A nanny is different to a domestic worker. I think nannies, in that sense, are trained to deal with a child. Domestic workers, I think the liability is so great because you're asking someone who cleans a house to look after a baby, and I find that wrong. I know a lot of people do that. A lot of people ask them to stay behind and babysit their kids, but I don't think that that's the right thing to do. That's taking advantage of someone.

Interviewer: Okay. That brings us to the end. Is there anything you would like to add or ask?

Participant 2: Ja, I think all these questions, you made me realise how little I know about our domestic worker and maybe how we're not doing things by the book, which is not fair to her.

Interviewer: In what way?

Participant 2: Like with the contract, if we need to have one in place with her. Maybe we should be paying her more. Um, I know that when we start a job, you know, we always need this clearly defined job description and what is required of us. Um, we don't do that with our domestic workers – we, as in people, as in most people I know – and that's quite bad. It's kind of like we're taking advantage of them, and that's unfair. But that's... so you... you're making me think about a lot of things now. Thank you. And I feel terrible that I don't know where she's from.

Interviewer: That's okay, don't feel bad. I'm really not here to judge you.

Participant 2: No, I know.

- Interviewer: I'm just here to understand what's happening in...
- Participant 2:** But I think it's amazing how you give somebody the... It's kind of like invasive. Somebody's in your life when they cleaning your household and you know nothing about them. Thank you.
- Interviewer: Well, thank you so much for taking the time to do this interview with me. I really appreciate it.
- Participant 2:** You're welcome.
- Interviewer: And your input was very valuable.
- Participant 2:** I hope so.
- Interviewer: Okay, let me switch this off.

Transcript of Follow-Up Interview with Participant 2

| Details | |
|--|------------------------|
| Date | 10/06/2019 |
| Type of Interview | Face to face interview |
| <i>Pseudonyms have been used in this transcript to protect the identity of the participant and his family.</i> | |

Interviewer: Okay, do you remember at the time of the interview, what your place of residence was?

Participant 2: Uh, yes, at the time of the interview, I remember where we lived.

Interviewer: Could you tell me where it was?

Participant 2: Sure, it was in Royal Ascot...

Interviewer: That's in Milnerton?

Participant 2: Yes.

Interviewer: Um, can you tell me what your home language is?

Participant 2: It's English.

Interviewer: Okay, and at the time, how many years had you been staying at your place of residence.

Participant 2: At the time, we did this interview last year right?

Interviewer: Uh, it was in November, 2017 actually.

Participant 2: Um, we had lived in that place of residence for four years.

Interviewer: Uh, could you tell me what your husband's occupation was?

Participant 2: Uh, he was a financial controller at Twisp.

Interviewer: What does that mean? Was he like an accountant or just in the finance department?

Participant 2: In the finance department, ja.

Interviewer: Um, do you know what the home language of your domestic was at that time?

Participant 2: Was our domestic at the time ... was it ...?

Interviewer: I think you had just hired...

Participant 2: Was It Miriam?

Interviewer: I think you had just hired Miriam...

Participant 2: Um, nope, I have no idea. I have no idea what the language was.

Interviewer: Okay, and do you know what her home country was?

Participant 2: Was it Eastern Cape, South Africa?

Interviewer: Um, do you know if she was a South Africa citizen?

Participant 2: She was a South African citizen.

Interviewer: So, in our previous interview, you mentioned that you and your husband were not at home enough to interact consistently with your domestic worker. Was this because you were both working or were there other factors?

Participant 2: Um, we didn't interact enough with her because we were both working at the time, so we both had full time jobs.

Interviewer: Okay, and you'd only come home after she'd left?

Participant 2: We'd only come home after she'd left ja, and we wouldn't see her when she came in as well.

Interviewer: Okay, so you mentioned the size of your apartment affected, the hours and part time status of your domestic worker. How large was your apartment at the time?

Participant 2: Uh, at the time we had a two-bedroom flat.

Interviewer: Okay, do you know what it was in square meters?

Participant 2: I think it was 60. 60 square meters.

Interviewer: Okay, and did you have a yard or a balcony?

Participant 2: We had a balcony so the 60 square metres was inclusive of the balcony.

Interviewer: Okay, and there were no like, um, domestic worker residences on the ...?

Participant 2: No, there were, there were no domestic quarters on the property.

Interviewer: Where you renting your apartment.

Participant 2: We were renting our flat ja.

Interviewer: Would staying in a larger place change the hours and part time status of your household's domestic worker?

Participant 2: Uh, no, I think we still would have had her one day a week if we had had a bigger place, but maybe she would have spent more of the day there than just the three or four hours that she was there.

Interviewer: Okay, so what motivated you then to have her part-time, if it wasn't the size of the apartment?

Participant 2: Um, finances. So, what motivated us to have Miriam there part time, was, one, we couldn't afford to have her in every day. Like I said, the size; it wasn't necessary to have someone clean it all the time, um and she was also there as an aid to me. So, I was still doing a lot of the stuff

myself, but it was just for her to help me with the things that I couldn't get around to doing.

Interviewer: Okay, um, would you ever consider having ... a live-in domestic worker?

Participant 2: Absolutely.

Interviewer: Okay, um, what would motivate that decision?

Participant 2: I grew up with a live in domestic and it was a man.

Interviewer: Okay, so what would the factors be that ... what would need to happen for you to choose to have a live-in domestic worker?

Participant 2: Um, for me to choose to have a live-in domestic worker, I would need a bigger place to motivate for that. I would need a better income so that I could pay a proper salary, um and UIF for full time employment, all of that, and have living quarters so that they could also live on the property with us.

Interviewer: So, you prefer for her not to live in the house, but in her own place?

Participant 2: Ja

Interviewer: Okay

Participant 2: Otherwise you feel like you're living at your job.

Interviewer: Would owning your place make a difference as well.

Participant 2: Yes.

Interviewer: So, if you were renting would you consider having a live-in domestic worker?

Participant 2: No.

Interviewer: And, um, so, if you had a live-in domestic worker, you'd want her to be full-time?

Participant 2: Yes.

Interviewer: Okay. How much would you consider paying her?

Participant 2: If she was full-time, live-in?

Interviewer: If she was full-time, live-in, ja?

Participant 2: Um, maybe four and half or five thousand rand a month.

Interviewer: Okay. So, in our previous interview you mentioned having had around three domestic workers work for you in Cape Town, um, by that time. Was your living situation the same when you had these other domestic workers work for you?

Participant 2: Exactly the same. Our living situation was exactly the same.

Interviewer: Okay, and you mentioned that you paid your domestic worker at the time R200.00 a day. Could you describe why you chose to pay her that much, that particular amount?

Participant 2: Um, we chose for her that amount because that is how much she asked for per day. So, we asked her what was her fee and that was what she had stipulated.

Interviewer: Okay, um, I was just gonna ask if you negotiated the price and you answered that question. How much do you feel the minimum wage should be for domestic workers?

Participant 2: For a full day, I'd say a minimum of R300.00.

Interviewer: Would you be willing or able to pay that?

Participant 2: I would be willing but at the time of the interview I wouldn't be able to pay that.

Interviewer: Okay... so if the government were to up the minimum wage for domestic workers, how much would be too much for you to keep your domestic worker on.

Participant 2: I think even if the government, even if the government increased the wage it would still be less than what we're paying them now, so I think it would still be fine.

Interviewer: But you weren't able to pay her more than R200 a day, that's why you chose that amount?

Participant 2: Also, because she was ... our domestic at the time was, um, cleaning our neighbour's house and it was bigger than ours and they were paying her the same amount, and she spent less time at our place then she did by them. So, it seemed fair.

Interviewer: Okay, so what is the maximum amount at the time that you were willing to pay her?

Participant 2: Uh, if she was there the whole day R250.00

Interviewer: And, um, you've probably answered this so you can just tell me if you answered it, um, but why would it be R250.00?

Participant 2: Just what the going rate was at the time, um, and because our place was small.

Interviewer: Okay. All right, so almost there. In our last interview you were not sure whether you were required to have a written contract with your domestic worker since she worked part-time. You were also not sure whether a domestic worker without a contract is able to go to the CCMA; um have you been able to clarify this information.

Participant 2: Um, I'm still not sure about the contract, but I do believe that everyone is entitled to go to the CCMA.

Interviewer: So, do you have any other questions, about the legal requirements of domestic workers?

Participant 2: Not at the moment, no questions.

Interviewer: Okay, so, where did you look to find the answer to the question about the CCMA?

Participant 2: I didn't actually look; it just happened that I figured it out, um, working in the environment that I work in now, um and going through a retrenchment process. I'm learning a lot more about labour law, um, and I believe that everyone's entitled to go to the CCMA.

Interviewer: Okay. So, do you think it's easy to find information on the regulations around domestic work in South Africa?

Participant 2: Around minimum wage yes, you just Google it and it comes up.

Interviewer: Okay, and what information do you feel is more difficult to find? So, like, you've got the information on the minimum wage, when or if to serve a contract, UIF, CCMA, bargaining council, and anything else that you can think of? Do you think it's relatively easy to find information about these?

Participant 2: I think so. I think over the last few years, information is more easily attainable online, um, especially when they change the stats every year, and then I think it also gets released on news 24 as well. I think that was the last place that I saw that they had increased the minimum wage.

Interviewer: And... concerning contracts, do you think that's easy to find information on contracts for domestic workers?

Participant 2: I've actually never looked. So, I am intrigued; is it something you can just maybe Google to find out?

Interviewer: So, I went onto the government labour website.

Participant 2: Yes.

Interviewer: And they have a lot of information on how to treat your domestic worker. All the information is there, it's very easy. The only thing I couldn't find out is... they've got the contract there, but they don't specify whether all domestic workers, even part time domestic workers, are required to have contracts or not? And I don't know if that's because maybe it's specified somewhere else in labour law. So, they just say 'here's an example of a contract, there are the duties', you know, 'this is what it should look like', but they don't say whether contracts are for full-time or part time – they don't specify...

Participant 2: You don't think that part-time domestic workers would take offence if you have them sign a contract?

Interviewer: It's possible.

Participant 2: Especially since, if they've been working for you for a while and then suddenly you throw a contract in their face. I think they might feel a little ... standoffish, because it's, 'why are you making me sign something that seemed so serious? What have I done wrong? Why you're trying to catch me out.'

Interviewer: Ja, that's why it would probably, um, be important to think about that in the beginning. So, those are all my questions. Do you have any other comments you'd like to make?

Participant 2: No, questions thank you. Just looking forward to reading your thesis.

Interviewer: Thank you.

Participant 2: And what your findings are.

Interviewer: Thank you very much

Transcript of First Interview with Participant 3

| Details | |
|--|------------------------|
| Date | 06/01/2018 |
| Type of Interview | Face to face interview |
| <i>Pseudonyms have been used in this transcript to protect the identity of the participant and his family.</i> | |

Interviewer: So, thank you again for allowing me to interview you.

Participant 3: A pleasure.

Interviewer: And, like I just said, that I keep your name and number so your personal details will not lead back to you as a person, and I also just want to reiterate that I'm not here to judge anything you say. I'm just here to understand, from your perspective, any answers that you give me.

Participant 3: Alright.

Interviewer: Okay, so, um, let's start. Do you remember having a domestic worker at home as a child?

Participant 3: No.

Interviewer: You didn't have a domestic worker at home?

Participant 3: No, as a child, uh, I was with my granny and my parents and they had no domestic workers. Granny done all the work herself. Uh, wait. Sorry for that. Um, when we moved out, I was about like thirteen years old, my mom got a domestic worker. Her name was Joice and she worked for us for many years until she passed on. Ja, we were all very heart sore about it.

Interviewer: Okay, and tell me... with... about your relationship with this domestic worker as a child?

Participant 3: Um, she was very sweet. Uh... she... she was strict... with, uh... with me at home, um but, um, my mother handled her the same. There was nothing that, we're White and she's Black. Um, she had her own room, uh, on the premises at the back of the yard and, um, ja. She worked, um... she worked at... I think, uh, every second weekend she went home to Thaba Nchu [in the Free State]. Uh, yes and... uh... but she was ... she was very old when I had my first child. She was actually still there, and that's when she passed on. She got very old. Um, I'm trying to think now if my mom had another one after her. I think she did, but I can't remember so far back anymore who she was and that, but I think that was just a lady that used to work with, uh, come clean up and also, like the same with Rachel, used to have every second weekend off and go home, ja.

Interviewer: Um, has your experience of your domestic worker as a child impacted what you look at for in domestic workers today?

Participant 3: Um... If I... if I have to think, domestic workers today, um, there is a difference I would say. Um, I think because... with the... with the Apartheid law, it was so much different the way they, as they were seen. Um, today you can see they expect more. They like equal, um, and uh, yes.

Interviewer: Could you tell me a bit about your family... as it relates to... so, like, do you stay with anyone, do you have any children, that kind of thing?

Participant 3: Uh, my children are all out of the house now, um ja. You mean when I had a maid when I had children at the home?

Interviewer: No currently now?

Participant 3: Currently now?

Interviewer: Oh yes and when you had children in your home. Anything you feel that you want to tell me about.

Participant 3:

Ja... when we had... when I had my kids at home, I didn't have a domestic fulltime. I had a domestic like twice a week, uh, which does the normal cleaning, and yes, at the moment now, I've got a domestic that's working here now for me for five years. Um, uh... hubby's not so happy because... Okay, first I must tell you... she... she comes in at half past nine and we let her go at half past one. She actually comes in just clean up quickly because when I was working before, uh, I had, now here comes my dog in, I had this big dog of mine, the poodle, and I was allowed to take him to my office for the first four years. We used to lock up the house and, you know, we used to do just the cleaning ourselves here and the washing and that, but when I got retrenched I had a problem cause my, um, employer that employed me, the new employer, wouldn't allow the dog. So, we had a problem with him. What we're going to do now? He needs to go outside, and we don't want to just leave everything open. That's when we employed... um, a... a domestic uh, to come in. I can't remember what her name but, uh, we weren't very happy with her. We employed another one. We weren't happy with her, and then eventually we landed up with Miriam that's now like five years here now and, um, she comes in at half past nine and she leaves at half past one. She takes like, uh, half an hour/forty-five minute break and, uh, she works from Mondays to Fridays. Uh, hubby's not very pleased, because the longer she's working for us, the more lazier she's becoming, okay. Uh, I mean, it's just the two of us here and, um, you'll think she'll clean now very well, but she sort of just here and there, but we're patient with her and, uh, we just leave her and... we... we don't worry too much about it and we go 'oh well, at least we know she does not steal and at least we know'... um, well I don't have to come in, rearrange my house when I come in – all the furniture's now moved all around the place. You know, [you] get those that clean and they just move everything around the place and just leave it. Um, I've tried to explain to her too that she must maybe just... do, uh... make herself a timetable, like a program, like one day just clean thoroughly and the next day maybe just washing

and ironing, you know... but... and then the next day maybe the windows, but looks if she can't understand it so nicely.

Interviewer: And, um, do you think that's maybe perhaps a language barrier or...?

Participant 3: Um, you know, if I come to think of it, I have noticed that when, uh, Mario speaks to her... she... I think she gets sort of nervous because he's big and speaks too fast. I've also noticed, if I speak fast... then... then she doesn't really understand. Um, although I must say... she's very, also... she reminds of a introvert. Ja, very much like a introvert, but since I'm more at home now, I'm coming across, she's more opening. She's more friendly with me and... uh, and... I treat her like, like I treat anybody. Uh...she is, uh... I've noticed a change. It's so, as if, I think, maybe it could also be educational problem of those days that she didn't have, but one thing I can say, her writing is beautiful because I write her notes – what I want her maybe just to please clean for me somewhere where I see needs cleaning – and if she writes me notes to say she needs... um, what you call it, um ... stay soft, what you call these things?

Interviewer: Like washing powders and that stuff.

Participant 3: Ja, ja, then she'll write me a note and I must say I'm so... um, uh... flabbergasted with her writing. It is beautiful, ja, and her spelling. So, uh, yes, and she told me too that, um, she's got three children. We sort of spoke. Um, her daughter's at college now and then she's got a little boy and then, I don't know how old he is. I think he's about a fourteen and then she's got the little baby which she says is now seven years old. So, she told me she's actually working to support the family. It sounds as if she hasn't got a husband. She's working to support the family and her child at college. Um, I've also noticed when I put food down for her she will not really eat it. I said to her ... 'why don't you eat the food' and she'll take now some bread or something. She's says no, she's taking it home for her little one. Oh that made me nogal heart sore ... shame, ja, ja. Um, we had a washing machine here that we

replaced and, uh, Mario had it fixed and it was a hundred per cent working but then we already got a new washing machine. It was in... the... the garage and, uh, he gave it to her and he said he will take two hundred rand for it, which it was much more worth, and in a way I think she's doing washing at home to make extra money. [laughs] Ja, ja.

Interviewer: Uh, so is it just you and your hubby at the moment?

Participant 3: Yes.

Interviewer: And... so those three domestic... you tried one and then you tried another one and then you ...

Participant 3: I can't remember you know. They used to come and go, come and go. They'll work like a month. I must mention, one I had that I came across, was stealing my clothes. Ja, and she was nogal clever because, um, it was in the summertime that she must have done it because it was like winter clothes that were gone. So, um, when I came across that... we told her... we paid her two months in advance and said she must leave and she was very upset and said... she didn't... she knows nothing about it and then we said well, its only her that was in the house, then we'll have to go to the police and we lay a charge because it was expensive stuff. It was a leather jacket of mine, it was boots, it was long skirt, a beautiful jersey – it cost me a lot of money at Truworths – and tights, and we came across... Uh, that's the only one that I know that was working here for us in-between that had stolen stuff. Uh, the other one we had before that we ... also tell wasn't working was stealing Mario medication. [laughs] Okay, like in blood pressure pills and his sleeping pills and he couldn't understand why he's not coming through the months with his prescription and then he confronted her and asked her, 'are you taking my tablets?', and she said yes, cause she can't sleep at night. So, I explained to her that she can't do it. You can't take others people's medication, you know. It's... you can die. Ja, and then he was upset and he said, 'no, I mean,

if she's doing that then you can't trust her', you know. Um, ja that's all I... ja.

Interviewer: And that's was while you were with your hubby?

Participant 3: Ja.

Interviewer: And when you had your children with you, did you have many domestic workers?

Participant 3: Uh, no. I used to keep my domestic workers very long. They used to stay with me a long time. Maybe I had to give them notice, as we... were... might be moving... or, um, it was... or they had to leave because they had a problem, ja. I, ja... I must say, if I got somebody and I'm happy... then, then... then they stay with me.

Interviewer: And can you remember how many domestic workers you had?

Participant 3: Shoe, let me think. Um, ag, I don't know. Let's say around about eight.

Interviewer: And that's throughout the years?

Participant 3: Ja, eight, nine, ten, around there, ja.

Interviewer: Okay, um, can you tell me how you came to hire your current domestic worker?

Participant 3: Uh, the current one. I knew a lady at the office that was working for us at the office and I asked her if she can get somebody for me. That was when we weren't happy, you know, with these previous... and, uh... and she referred this domestic worker to me and she came for the interview and the lady at the office came and showed her and showed her what I wanted, all that, and she actually didn't wanna come and work. Ja... we had to, uh, the one, the, the... the domestic I got at the work to ask her, she said she knows of this lady who's now Miriam, but she doesn't know if Miriam will come because Miriam, um, is a housewife and she stays at home, and I said, 'please ask her', and then

she came back and she said she had to beg her, and she said no, but she's got her baby to look after at home and you know, uh, and then Miriam came, ag, then she came and she said to me okay Miriam said it's alright. She's been thinking about it, She'll come and see me, and then... what... I can't remember what was her name, that lady. She brought her here. We had the interview and that's how she started working for me.

Interviewer: So, now Miriam works for you?

Participant 3: Miriam works for me. [laughs]

Interviewer: ...that's wonderful. Were there other domestic workers you were considering hiring or was it just Miriam?

Participant 3: Uh, it was just Miriam. I, I've... the previous ones, we looked in on Gumtree what was advertised and we looked in those little local newspapers. Uh, I would always ask around, 'do you know of somebody that's working for you maybe that needs extra work?'... that's how... but that's how Miriam, ja... and I think... um, ag, we... she's also, like, part of the family, almost, now. Mario is always... um... because sometimes he gets upset when the house is not cleaned properly, then he'd always say, 'no, no this maid must go. This is a waste of money', but I think he's also maar soft and eventually he just leaves it and then we just carry on again and she gets her days when we warned her and we take a photo and show her, 'that's like this, now you see the spider web? It's been here now for a month. Here's the photo', ja and then Miriam that day she comes in, she'll *clean* [said with emphasis] and then after that it will get lazy again. Ag but we adapt, you know, we're not ...

Interviewer: And, um, have you ever hired a domestic worker through a domestic worker hiring company?

Participant 3: No.

- Interviewer: And, I think you already said so... but... I'm not sure. How long has your domestic worker, your current one, worked for you?
- Participant 3:** Five years. She's here now five years.
- Interviewer: Um, is she a South African or is she a foreigner?
- Participant 3:** South African.
- Interviewer: Okay, would you hire a foreign domestic worker?
- Participant 3:** Um, If I had to, ja, and maybe ... Zimbabwean's seem very nice but ja. I... I would give it a try if I had to, if I really want to see a change, but, ja.
- Interviewer: And do you have a preference for South African or a foreigner?
- Participant 3:** Preference for South Africa.
- Interviewer: Okay ... can you tell me why?
- Participant 3:** Um... I... I think because, um, South African, we'll give them a chance. It's our home country. It's our, um, people here. Ja, I mean... why... why take foreign people when here's so many of them here that haven't got jobs in South Africa that, uh, need work? I also think that's maybe where all that comes in... that, um, uh... where the foreigners are getting the work and they're not getting the work and all that. What do they call it, Xenophobia?
- Interviewer: Xenophobia.
- Participant 3:** Ja, it comes in and all that, yes.
- Interviewer: Okay, um, is your domestic worker from Cape Town?
- Participant 3:** Uh, yes.
- Interviewer: I think you told me where she lives. You did didn't you?

Participant 3: Um, Khayelitsha.

Interviewer: Khayelitsha. Okay, is she employed full-time or part-time?

Participant 3: I think you could say fulltime.

Interviewer: Fulltime.

Participant 3: But now her hours are... when she comes in, like, quarter past nine or half-past nine she leaves at half past one. So, full time but I'd say, like, maybe four hours a day, ja.

Interviewer: Okay, um, and why did you make this decision to have her fulltime?

Participant 3: Because of the dog that we've got at home, um, when I was working. I mean, I've stopped working now, but we decided still to keep her, but now and again I'm out temping or helping with the church. Um, that's why we decided now rather to get a fulltime maid... um, or... because of that problem ... I can tell you, if we did not have the dog, we were discussing the other night, we would, um, maybe get a domestic for once or twice a week – full day. Uh, we were thinking, ja, full day, um, cause then, I mean, what is it? I'm also at home. If I'm not working and the dog's not here anymore, so if I have to work, I can just lock up and go and arrange something like that, but because we love him so much – this animal's like our furry son in the house [laughs]. We make jokes. We say, 'Nolo's nanny'. [laughs] Ja.

Interviewer: Okay, um, so would you be willing to tell me what your hourly or daily rate for your domestic worker is?

Participant 3: Gosh, um, we give her R 2,200.00 a month. Um, Mario pays her that because he said if he works out that it's not really fulltime day and he spoke to her about it because he said that's all we also can afford at the moment. Her hours aren't fulltime, and I must say, she gets a lot off – full pay. Uh, we went away November for three weeks. She didn't come in for those three weeks because we put the dog in a kennel. She

got full pay. We went again in December away and she also went on leave again – full pay. Ja, so, and she's happy. We ask her if that's ... and she said, 'no she's totally happy with what she's got'. She would also sometimes, if we also go away like for a long weekend, we'll give her off like a day before we leave and she'll come in a day after we get back. So, she's happy. She... I must say, I think... she's, she works... she's happy with what she's doing. Ja, and we're only two people so there isn't any kids running around here and the house isn't in a mess and she got the dishwasher she uses, she's got the washing machine [laughs].

Interviewer: And is there a reason she leaves at 1 o'clock, like she works part-time for like half a day?

Participant 3: She... ja, um... If I start work, I started at eight and Mario comes home when the vessel's not in. He comes home at about quarter past three, cause he works from seven to three. So... what... what we arranged with her, that's why the hours are like this, I said to her, 'I leave at eight. I'm leaving with the back door open for the dog to go out into the garden'. She's got her own keys and her own remote to get into the complex, then when she leaves about half-past one then she also leaves the door open and then when Mario goes out, so we've got that lapse that the house is not go unlocked, that this back door, you know, that the dog can still go out but we're not leaving everything just open for the whole day, ja. That's why we have those hours with her, that she can just be here, and that's why we pay her that money.

Interviewer: Okay, um, do you provide her with sick leave?

Participant 3: Ja.

Interviewer: And holidays?

Participant 3: Yes.

Interviewer: Does she get any annual increases?

Participant 3: She did until I stopped work. So, Mario said he will give her annual increases as he can afford it, ja. Um, and... he'll give her... he gave her before, when I was still working. He gave her every December... a full... a full, uh, let's say like a thirteenth cheque. He gave her with her pay every December, but now when I stopped, we had to cut a bit and he said to her he can give her... what he... what he can give her, maybe five hundred or maybe eight hundred, or something extra December, but he can't give her, like, five thousand rand for December ... and she's happy. Ja, ja, she's happy.

Interviewer: Okay, um, and does she have a pension? Do you know?

Participant 3: No.

Interviewer: And any unemployment benefits?

Participant 3: Yes, he's paying her UIF every month.

Interviewer: Okay, so she doesn't live on your property currently?

Participant 3: No.

Interviewer: Do you have a contract with your domestic worker?

Participant 3: Uh, you know, I think he's got one. Yes, he's got one, yes.

Interviewer: Could you explain why?

Participant 3: Um, I think to cover him and to cover her, yes, yes

Interviewer: Okay, um, and do you know... what, um... what notice period the contract stipulates?

Participant 3: He give thirty days – a months' notice. But what he usually does, he gives a month notice but he gives her double pay, yes.

- Interviewer: Okay, and from her side, if she wants to leave does she have... a, a period... a notice period?
- Participant 3:** From her side yes.
- Interviewer: Also thirty days?
- Participant 3:** Yes, I think that's in the contract.
- Interviewer: Okay.
- Participant 3:** Ja.
- Interviewer: Would you be willing for me to see the contract?
- Participant 3:** He's got it at work in his office at the safe there. I haven't got, look, he's actually the one... that... that employed her that time. I mean, I employed her, but he's the one that done the contract and spoke to her and everything, ja, cause he was the one that was paying her. [laughs]
- Interviewer: ...Okay, and what type of work does she do for you? Like, um, what specific tasks does she do?
- Participant 3:** Must clean, uh wash, uh clothing and just clean the little place nice, polish, wash. The normal domestic...
- Interviewer: And she doesn't cook?
- Participant 3:** No, not at all.
- Interviewer: Okay, and do you know what the minimum wage is for domestic workers this year?
- Participant 3:** Oh, my word. Uh, Mario is in control of all of those things, but I think... the minimum was like, uh... the minimum I think was a hundred and sixty to a hundred and eighty a fulltime day, for a day. Is that right? For a char?

- Interviewer: Um, I've got the new ones here, if you want them? So, it says... I don't, ja... the hourly rate is R 15.28, that's if the domestic worker works twenty-seven ordinary hours or less.
- Participant 3:** Oh, she works, let's see. Let's say... um... let's make it easy. Let's say nine. When she comes in, it's usually quarter past nine/half past nine... then she takes... then she first... has, sits and has... makes her toast and has a coffee and all that, so she actually starts working here by quarter to ten/ten o'clock, but let's take now her hours. Let's say nine/ten/eleven/twelve/one – four and a half hours, um, a day. It's easier to work it on five. Let's say five hours a day, but it counts a lunch in hey?
- Interviewer: Oh, well... it's still... it's still less than twenty-seven hours a week
- Participant 3:** Ja, five hours a day. Five times five is twenty-five hours a week. What's that thing say?
- Interviewer: So, for twenty-seven or less?
- Participant 3:** Ja, so she works twenty-five. So it's twenty-seven or less how much? Fifteen...
- Interviewer: So, the hourly rate is fifteen rand twenty-eight and the weekly rate is four hundred and twelve rand, sixteen cents.
- Participant 3:** So, she gets 2200 if you divide that.
- Interviewer: And then the monthly rate is one thousand, seven hundred and eighty-seven.
- Participant 3:** Okay... then she's... then we're still okay.
- Interviewer: I'm not judging, not at all.
- Participant 3:** Ja, I was also wondering because I never look at it anymore, you know. He sees the stuff and he listens to the news and all that. I think, then,

we're fine because then she's also actually... maybe that's why she's also not moaning with her hours she's working, and she gets a lot off. Ja, a lot of time off.

Interviewer: So, now that you've heard what the minimum wage is,

Participant 3: Yes.

Interviewer: What do you feel about it?

Participant 3: Um, the minimum wage... Um... you know actually, um, I know people, but also... I would say I think, really, if a person can afford it, they need to give more money. I mean... they... I'm sure they, they don't want to be in the position they're in. Um... they're also human... they're also human beings. They've got to, live, look after their home. I mean, sometimes I say to myself, I'm glad I'm not Black, you know, because they are, some of them are really suffering. Um... but now you... I've also heard people say, if they put up the wages of the domestics, then they've gotta let them go because they can't afford it. So, what's gonna happen then, there's more that are gonna sit without work because... with the... with the, the economic situation today, people are all suffering... and... and if they, when, when... when a person is, um, his finances are, like, um, critical, you are first gonna leave everything which is a luxury, like having a maid, having this, and then you're gonna stop it till the finances are better, so I don't know but I think it's difficult for them too because, I mean, uh, if you take it for yourself, you're working all day, you don't wanna work for peanuts, you know and then, of course... when you... if you pay them a good wage, then you also expect them to do the best on their side, and not just to pay the wage and everything's not being done as it should.

Interviewer: Okay, do you know what other legislation and benefits cover domestic workers?

Participant 3: [participant gestures 'no'].

Interviewer: We've got the basic Conditions of Employment Act, the UIA that your hubby pays her,

Participant 3: Ja, ja.

Interviewer: The Occupational Health and Safety Act.

Participant 3: Oh, that's if they get injured and all that, but now I don't know. I don't know if that can work. Mario has got a policy, but we got that from Public, uh, Liability, if something happens that he's insured, if he gets sued for this or that. I don't know if it's something...

Interviewer: So, I think it's in a lot of working environments and it might be covered by your work, for injury, but because domestic workers aren't covered by... I think... employees necessarily for injuries, then they're covered by the Occupational Health and Safety Act. But... I... I need to read up a little bit more on what it means and if you want, I can send you something.

Participant 3: Okay, I know, look Miriam is, um, she's very ... and she's one of these big ones and I remember he also said the other day, up top there, he said, 'you must clean', and she must get, but he went and bought especially a ladder for her, cause those little ladders that are like that, you can pull them open. We had one where you climb up, you know, but he said, uh, he's gonna get another ladder because he said ... he doesn't want trouble if Miriam falls off and she sits here with a broken leg and he has to take her to hospital. So, ja. He's very, [laughs], he told her she must lose weight. [laughs] Ah, shame, ja.

Interviewer: It sounds like he's very clued up. He knows all about this stuff.

Participant 3: Oh, yes. He's clued up. He's clued up with everything, and that's why he handles it all.

Interviewer: Okay.

Participant 3: What are the other legislation, laws? ...

Interviewer: Oh, we have basic conditions of the employment act. So that just covers workers because beforehand, under Apartheid... I don't think, up until 2001 or 2 actually, I don't think they were considered under the basic conditions of employment...

Participant 3: They weren't hey!

Interviewer: So, there was nothing protecting them.

Participant 3: Yes.

Interviewer: But now they are and... then the UIA and the Occupational Health and Safety Act and then obviously they can go to the CCMA... if... if they want to.

Participant 3: Yes, yes, that I know they can do that.

Interviewer: So, that's what I have there, ja, and then they've got the minimum wage as well.

Participant 3: Okay, so actually what I must just tell you ... with Mario is, if he's covered if she gets hurt on the property or that if he's got...?

Interviewer: What I can do for you is I can go and find out what the Occupational Health and Safety Act... says about domestic workers.

Participant 3: Yes.

Interviewer: And then I can let you know before you...

Participant 3: Oh that will be cool. Very nice.

Interviewer: Before you get all panicked and then I'll send that to you.

- Participant 3:** Ag, that will be nice Kathy, because I know... we... we're fine with the minimum wage. We're fine with that, and I know he pays every month UIF for her, so that's just the one thing that I must just... a... check-up.
- Interviewer: So... I'll... I'll send you the relevant information. I won't send you a huge document. I'll...
- Participant 3:** [laughs] Okay.
- Interviewer: I'll give you the relevant information that you need.
- Participant 3:** Yes, you can send it with your dad, cause I'll be helping out till the end of March.
- Interviewer: Okay, sure. I'll send that with him when he gets back home from holiday.
- Participant 3:** Yes.
- Interviewer: Sure, um, do you know if your domestic worker's part of a Union?
- Participant 3:** No.
- Interviewer: Okay.
- Participant 3:** Well... I... I don't think so. I've never heard of...
- Interviewer: But you don't think she's part of one but you're not sure?
- Participant 3:** I'm not sure. I don't think so. She reminds me... she just, uh, couldn't worry of anything about politics, or nothing, you know. She gives the idea, as long as she's got her money and her kids are happy doing college and at home, she couldn't care less about the government.
[laughs]
- Interviewer: Okay.

Participant 3:

But, you know, maybe I would think, uh, her daughter who's in college, um... I can't say it is her, but I've got that feeling that she's really clued up with everything and I think she gives her mom info of how things are going cause Miriam's still of the ... of the old batch, you know. I'm... I'm also ... About three years ago, just to tell you, um, Miriam gets her pay every, on the dot, end of the month, but now lately Mario gives it to her like three days before the end of the month, like the twenty-six, or the... because I think he also feels... Uh, shame, she's battling because I know she's got to take the bus and that's also... and she buys a month ticket and I think that's something like eight hundred rand for her, hey, and all that and, um, then about three years ago, I don't know how it came across, he forgot to draw her money. It was on a Friday and, uh, she had already left and he came in and he said to me, 'oh my word, I forgot to draw Miriam money. Why didn't you remind me. I said, 'I didn't think of that and I also forgot now', and I called her and I said to her, 'listen Miriam, sorry man', because we always leave her money in the kitchen in a pay envelope and she said to me, 'ag, no problem'. I said, 'can I meet you somewhere tomorrow or have you got a bank account I can put?' she said no, she's got no bank and she says, 'don't worry... I'll get it on Monday', but that Friday evening I got a WhatsApp from this lady I didn't know and she said to me her name is, I can't remember, and she said she's Miriam daughter. So then I clicked that is the one that's at college and she said to me she just wants to know, her mother did not get money, why and then, like, I thought, 'geez, this is rather rude, because I did speak to her mom... and, uh, and uh... she was happy to wait till Monday.' It isn't that she, every month she struggles to get her money. This was like a once off thing, and she said to me, yes, she just wants to check up. Her mother wouldn't give her my telephone number because she thought she just wants to check up because she thinks her mom is lying to her, she's got money, and I thought, 'wow!', and she said because her mother promised her money, when she came home, to give her money, cause she's going out and now she hasn't got money.

So... she's just... and then I felt sorry cause I got that impression that when she gets her pay the kids are waiting for her to come home to take it, you know, and, uh, ja, and I thought, 'jeez, right. It's also not, maybe not so great at her home as well', you know. Ja, I thought I would just mention that to you, and sometimes I wonder if their children also just don't wait for them to come in and then just take.

Interviewer: You... you already mentioned this but, um, you said you... feel... see your domestic worker as part of the family. Is that correct?

Participant 3: Yes.

Interviewer: And how do you feel that this impacts your relationship with her?

Participant 3: Our relationship?

Interviewer: Yes.

Participant 3: Uh, as I mentioned before, she was in the beginning very, like, introvert, very one-sided as if she gave me the idea... she's, um, got... she's got to do her work here and that's that and not interfere with us, more or less like there was a barrier, but lately, since I'm more at home now, I can see she's opening up more and I can see she's becoming also more friendly with me, because if I pour me a cool drink in, I'll pour her one as well and I'll take it to her, and if I make me a sandwich here at 10 o'clock because I feel hungry or whatever, I'll make her one and also give her a sandwich. I think that has sort of made us more closer to each other, you know. Um... but she's... you can see there's still respect, because she will... make her... maybe take a sandwich in the morning, come sit here just before she starts working with her coffee, and she'll come and sit here outside at the table and she will have it, but I also see respect because... if... if I'm making me something there isn't that she's gonna come sit next to me and eat as well. She'll either sit there, or she'll go and she'll have it there in the laundry room, ja.

- Interviewer: Okay, I think you've answered all these questions. It was about your previous domestic workers. So, you mentioned you've had quite a few come and go, have any of these experiences with your past domestic workers affected the way you hired your current domestic worker?
- Participant 3:** No, I'm always the same with them, yes.
- Interviewer: Okay.
- Participant 3:** Yes.
- Interviewer: And did it change what you look for in domestic workers at all?
- Participant 3:** No, I know what I want with them.
- Interviewer: Okay, um, were any of your previous domestic workers foreign?
- Participant 3:** No
- Interviewer: No, all South African?
- Participant 3:** Mhm [yes]
- Interviewer: Okay, and did you have contracts with your previous domestic workers?
- Participant 3:** Uh, in the past no. It was just verbal.
- Interviewer: Okay.
- Participant 3:** Ja.
- Interviewer: So did they get sick leave and holidays and...?
- Participant 3:** If I can remember back, they had sick leave and holidays yes.
- Interviewer: And annual increases?

Participant 3: Uh, if affordable yes.

Interviewer: Okay, and pension?

Participant 3: No.

Interviewer: No, and UIF or unemployment benefits?

Participant 3: Uh, yes. One or two no, but yes, mostly yes

Interviewer: Okay and, uh, you've had them work different hours?

Participant 3: Yes... there were... this is the... this is the only one that works, ja... so the only one... Miriam the only one that works these hours. Previously, the others that worked here, as well, just before her, uh, also had, like, coming in at eight and leaving at two, ja.

Interviewer: Also fully employed?

Participant 3: Ja, no, no, no like once a week, some of them twice a week.

Interviewer: Okay, so it really depends on your lifestyle?

Participant 3: Yes, um, if I may say, she's the only one that's now fully employed.

Interviewer: Okay, and have you ever had a domestic worker go to the CCMA?

Participant 3: No.

Interviewer: And that is all my questions.

Participant 3: Oh gosh. [laughs]

Interviewer: Do you feel like you'd like say anything?

Participant 3: Um, no. It's just, what I was mentioning, that if the person had to give them like, um, a higher wage, um, it depends on how their finances are, and as I say... and if, if, if a... if a law comes in that they need to get

that X amount of wages monthly which the people can't afford, they're gonna be without work. I'm sure of it.

Interviewer: And what type of work does your husband do?

Participant 3: He's a quality surveyor.

Interviewer: Okay

Participant 3: Ja.

Interviewer: That's all. Thank you so much for giving... up... me your precious time on your Saturday ... I really appreciate it.

Participant 3: I hope you're satisfied [laughs]

Interviewer: I'm very happy and satisfied, thank you. Let me just switch this off

Transcript of Follow-Up Interview with Participant 3

| Details | |
|--|------------------------|
| Date | 21/05/2019 |
| Type of Interview | Face to face interview |
| <i>Pseudonyms have been used in this transcript to protect the identity of the participant and his family.</i> | |

Interviewer: ... so I hope you don't mind, but I've got the questions on my phone.

Participant 3: Alright.

Interviewer: Okay, so can I ask what your home languages is? I forgot to ask you last time.

Participant 3: Afrikaans

Interviewer: Okay. How many years have you been living in the house at the time of our previous interviews? So, it's the same house.

Participant 3: Same house now, since?

Interviewer: Since

Participant 3: For the last 15 years. When did we do the interview? Last year?

Interviewer: Last year January.

Participant 3: So, you can say it's a year ... Ja a year and four months.

Interviewer: Okay, did you have any domestic workers work for you personally before you had your children?

Participant 3: Uh, no.

Interviewer: No.

- Participant 3:** No, I can't remember. For me, myself?
- Interviewer: So, you only started having a domestic worker when you had children?
- Participant 3:** Yes.
- Interviewer: Okay, um, so how old were your children when these domestic workers worked for you? Can you remember?
- Participant 3:** Shoe! Uh, they were babies still, because the thing is if I remember, um, I had and then I went back to work after two or three months. Ja, so I would say as babies.
- Interviewer: Okay.
- Participant 3: ...** Ja.
- Interviewer: Okay, and um, did you have a domestic worker work for you, like, as they grew up as well?
- Participant 3:** Yes.
- Interviewer: Okay, so after that you just had.
- Participant 3:** Ja, domestic workers, yes.
- Interviewer: Okay, and when they were babies, um, what duties did your domestic worker do?
- Participant 3:** Well, she'd done, um, also housecleaning a bit, and um, then she would look after the baby to see it gets its bottle and that, and then eventually when the baby's a bit bigger we took her to day care, and she used to just clean, ja...
- Interviewer: And do you remember how many domestic workers you had at that time of your life?

Participant 3: Shoe! Um, there weren't many cause usually when I have one I'll keep them quite long... I would say about six, ja in that period.

Interviewer: And... were they full-time or part-time at that time?

Participant 3: They were full-time. They slept in.

Interviewer: They slept in?

Participant 3: Ja

Interviewer: In the house or outside?

Participant 3: Outside in their own... the room always had like its own toilet, bathroom. Almost like a little small flat on the outside.

Interviewer: Okay. So, um, you started hiring a domestic worker because you had children and you needed to go back to work?

Participant 3: Yes.

Interviewer: Okay. Um, can you remember, did you have domestic, how many domestic workers you had when your children left home? Did you continue ...?

Participant 3: Um... Ja, there were, but I would say they would come in like twice a week. Um, ja, twice a week. It's only since I've been staying here now, that I've got one that's working now morning's only, but first full-day. Now its mornings only.

Interviewer: Okay, so at that time, before you moved into this house, you had a domestic work come in twice a week.

Participant 3: Ja, it was like twice a week or so.

Interviewer: And do you remember the hours?

Participant 3: I can't remember that... I'd say about eight to four.

Interviewer: So, it was like two full days?

Participant 3: Ja, ja.

Interviewer: Okay. Um, do you remember your reason for changing to having them like twice a week instead of full-time?

Participant 3: Ag, it wasn't necessary cause there weren't children in the house anymore. It wasn't getting dirty. It was easy to clean and to keep clean. So, it was more to get somebody into clean and just do ironing.

Interviewer: Okay, did your house size change?

Participant 3: It was about, normally the same. the house size, ja, it did change. I had about like a three bedroom instead of a four bedroom.

Interviewer: So, when you had kids your house was bigger?

Participant 3: Ja, ja. Like four bedrooms.

Interviewer: Four bedrooms.

Participant 3: Two bathrooms. It was much bigger.

Interviewer: Were you staying with anyone, like a partner at that time.

Participant 3: I was married, yes.

Interviewer: Okay, and then your kids left home and you moved to a smaller place?

Participant 3: Ja.

Interviewer: Okay, so how much do you feel the minimum wage should be for domestic workers?

Participant 3: Like today?

Interviewer: Mmm [Yes].

Participant 3: Um, if it was a char that comes in say twice or three times a week, well, the going rate here now is R250 a day.

Interviewer: Okay, and you feel that's fair?

Participant 3: Um, well, the cost of living now is so high, but the problem is the people can't afford more, ja.

Interviewer: So that was gonna be my next question. So, if, how much do you feel that the minimum wage should be and would you be able to or willing to pay that much?

Participant 3: If I could, I'd say pay them R300.00 a day because their bus fare is so expensive or their taxi, and then they've actually, what do they got left, and food is so expensive now. Um, but as I say, I know of people that pay R180.00. They just say they haven't got it. Um, ja.

Interviewer: Okay, so, um, if the government were to put up the minimum wage for domestic workers, how much would be too much for you to keep your domestic worker on?

Participant 3: You mean like a daily, rate?

Interviewer: Um, or a monthly rate, cause I know you pay her monthly rate.

Participant 3: She gets monthly rate, but now we've also changed her because of me. Um, actually Mario [partner] pays her, not me, so ja. Um, he, he, he gives her two, two a month – R2200.00 a month. She only comes now four days. She comes like 09:00, 09:15 in the morning she leaves 13:30. So, she comes Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays she's off, Thursdays and Fridays, just to clean, and to iron or whatever, cause it's the two of us now actually... But, uh, what would a person say? To him, he thinks it's all right for her. She's very happy with that because, you see, I think she also gets money from, what you call, the Labour Department for the children. She tells me she gets like, well that was

last year, R300.00 per child. So, she puts that with mine... I would say monthly, if people can afford it, I would say about R4000.00.

Interviewer: ...So, you feel that what you're paying her now is as much as you can.

Participant 3: Ja, if I could I would pay more, she actually works for him. [laughs]

Interviewer: Okay. [laughs]. So, um, do you have any other comments you'd like to make? Those are all my questions.

Participant 3: Is it! Are we done?

Interviewer: Ja!

Participant 3: ... I would say, I think they also find it very difficult. I think some people also just use them... I saw on the TV, the other night that they were talking about the domestic workers. I dunno if you saw that on the TV, that they feel like they getting abused and doing a lot and the money they get, they haven't even got enough just to get back home. So, yes, I dunno, it's a very difficult situation this, because I think if the government puts more money up or says they must be paid more, I think a lot of them are not gonna have work. Ja, because actually, I think... it's like a luxury and if you, and if you can't afford it, what do you do? You first stop all your luxuries, and I think that would be one of them. People just decide, 'oh well the house must be, and I must... iron when I get home from work or whatever, whatever'. Ja, it's actually for the rich. I think the poor and the middle-class is suffering. There are people who are really good to their maids, sorry [phone rings].

Transcript of Interview with Participant 4

| Details | |
|--|------------------------|
| Date | 18/01/2018 |
| Type of Interview | Face to face interview |
| <i>Pseudonyms have been used in this transcript to protect the identity of the participant and his family.</i> | |

Interviewer: So, this recording is very personal. I'm not going to share it.

Participant 4: Okay.

Interviewer: Um, I will have someone transcribing it but they've promised to delete it as soon as they've finished.

Participant 4: Good.

Interviewer: And, like I said, um, anything that's said here is confidential it will go in my thesis but you'll be anonymous. Nobody will be able to know ...who... who I was interviewing.

Participant 4: Okay.

Interviewer: And, also, I'm not here to judge you. I'm here to understand from your perspective so...

Participant 4: Good okay.

Interviewer: Okay, cool. Thank you. So, do you remember having a domestic worker at home as a child?

Participant 4: Yes.

Interviewer: Um, tell me a bit about your relationship with her?

- Participant 4 :** Um, Miriam, she actually still works for my mother. Um, she started working for her about thirty years ago and ever since she just, every week, she would come and clean the house and that's it... ja...
- Interviewer: And, um, was she a live-in?
- Participant 4:** No.
- Interviewer: No and, um, how did you experience her as a child? Did you have a relationship with her, or was she just there in the background?
- Participant 4:** More in the background.
- Interviewer: Okay.
- Participant 4:** But being nice, polite, ja... but the feeling was mutual from both ends, ja.
- Interviewer: Okay, and has your experience with your domestic worker as a child impacted what you look, like, for in a domestic worker today?
- Participant 4:** Yes.
- Interviewer: How so?
- Participant 4:** Well, she was very prim and proper with regards to what she did. The way she did the work was very good, and that's what I wanted in... the... the next domestic worker.
- Interviewer: Okay, um, could you tell me a bit about your family?
- Participant 4:** Ja. I've got, um, a brother. My father passed away of cancer and then my mom still lives in Vanderbijlpark.
- Interviewer: Okay, and do you stay with anyone?
- Participant 4:** No.

Interviewer: Oh, okay, and do you have any children?

Participant 4: No.

Interviewer: No, um, so tell me how you came to hire your current domestic worker?

Participant 4: She knocked on the door and, um, she was looking for a job, and I said to her 'well, uh, you can clean the windows for today and then from there we'll take it, play it ear by ear'.

Interviewer: Okay, and so why did you decide to hire her in the end?

Participant 4: Um, good worker. Ja very, very thorough, ja... hard worker.

Interviewer: So, you didn't hear about her from anyone. She just knocked on the door?

Participant 4: Knocked on my door, ja.

Interviewer: Okay, and... so... um... did... were there any other potential domestic workers you were thinking about at the time?

Participant 4: Yes, I was. Um, my cousin's domestic worker. Uh, I'd used her a couple of times when I moved in here and, uh, I wanted to use her, but she was more like permanently employed at my cousin's house so I couldn't.

Interviewer: Okay.

Participant 4: Ja.

Interviewer: So you would have gone with her?

Participant 4: Yes, absolutely. Ja.

Interviewer: Okay, um, were there any other domestic workers you were thinking of other than her?

Participant 4: No.

Interviewer: No, okay. Have you ever hired a domestic worker through a domestic worker hiring company?

Participant 4: No.

Interviewer: Okay would you think about doing that?

Participant 4: Yes, yes, ja.

Interviewer: Okay

Participant 4: Uh, sorry... I've, I've used a... I've used a cleaning services company twice.

Interviewer: Okay.

Participant 4: Ja

Interviewer: And what was your experience with them?

Participant 4: It was... um... The first time around it was good, cause ...I... I wanted them to, when I moved out of my apartment, when I moved here, I wanted her, well them, to come in and thoroughly clean the house before I hand over the keys and, um, then I used them again when I moved into this house, but the quality of work ...wasn't... wasn't up to standard ja.

Interviewer: Oh really? And any other issues?

Participant 4: That's it, just the quality of work wasn't... [pause]

Interviewer: Do you know what the name of the company was?

Participant 4: Um... I don't... I don't ... can't remember.

Interviewer: Okay, um, would you use them again?

- Participant 4:** No.
- Interviewer: No, because they produced bad quality workers?
- Participant 4:** Ja.
- Interviewer: Okay, um, and how long has your current domestic worker worked for you then?
- Participant 4:** Um, currently she's, I would say six/seven months, maybe longer, ja.
- Interviewer: Okay, um, is she a South African citizen?
- Participant 4:** Yes.
- Interviewer: Okay.
- Participant 4:** I think she is from Polokwane or somewhere, ja.
- Interviewer: Would you ever consider hiring a foreigner?
- Participant 4:** Um, ja. I think so. I think so, ja.
- Interviewer: So, would you have a preference between a South African or a foreigner.
- Participant 4:** A Malawian I think. A Malawian would be great.
- Interviewer: And why would you say that?
- Participant 4:** No, its just... I've... I've met the people, and they're hardworking... and, ja.
- Interviewer: Okay, um, so... your... you said your domestic worker is from Polokwane. Is that in Limpopo?
- Participant 4:** I think it's Pretoria, ja.
- Interviewer: Pretoria, sorry okay.

- Participant 4:** No, I'm not sure, but she said its Polokwane so... that... that is Pretoria.
- Interviewer: Okay, sorry. My bad.
- Participant 4:** My bad too [laughs]
- Interviewer: Is your domestic worker employed full-time or part-time?
- Participant 4:** Part-time.
- Interviewer: Part-time, okay. Asnd how many days a week does she work?
- Participant 4:** Well, she used to come in every second week, if I'm here, but if I travel a lot then she doesn't come in.
- Interviewer: Okay.
- Participant 4:** Ja.
- Interviewer: So every second week?
- Participant 4:** I would say that, ja.
- Interviewer: And why did you make that decision?
- Participant 4:** It's just because I'm never here so I close the doors, I close the windows and I mean, if there's no movement, then that's it, ja.
- Interviewer: Okay, um, so was your decision based on the amount of work available?
- Participant 4:** Ja.
- Interviewer: Okay... and could you... would you be willing to tell me what your daily rate is for your domestic worker?

- Participant 4:** Yes, um, because I've only got her in every second week, I gave her three hundred rand a day, plus a meal and old clothes, curtains, whatever. If there's something to give, I'll give, ja.
- Interviewer: So payment in kind as well?
- Participant 4:** As well, ja.
- Interviewer: ...Okay, and do you, I know that she's part-time, but do you provide her with sick leave or holidays?
- Participant 4:** No.
- Interviewer: No, and then obviously... this is... this usually goes along with, um, full-time workers but I'm gonna ask anyway.
- Participant 4:** No its fine
- Interviewer: And annual increases?
- Participant 4:** Um, well yes... if... if need be, bonuses. Ja, if need be.
- Interviewer: Okay, and a pension or unemployment benefits?
- Participant 4:** No.
- Interviewer: No, okay.
- Participant 4:** The way I see it is... I... I give her more than the normal rate... if I... if I'm correct, because if I speak to people, some of the people pay their domestic workers a hundred and fifty rand a day, which I think is terrible. So, I give her... a, a... a good fee, food and I even give her taxi or bus fair over and above. So, she couldn't complain that I was not giving her enough.
- Interviewer: And does your domestic worker live on your property? I assume not?
- Participant 4:** No.

Interviewer: Okay, would you ever consider having your domestic worker live on your property?

Participant 4: No.

Interviewer: And what.. were your... would your reasons for that be?

Participant 4: Because I'm not here and that's it. That's the main reason.

Interviewer: And if you were around?

Participant 4: Possibly, if I had a family and the need was there, but me being a bachelor, its ja.

Interviewer: Okay, do you have a contract with your domestic worker?

Participant 4: No, just a verbal agreement.

Interviewer: Okay is, um, could you tell me some of the reasoning behind that?

Participant 4: It's just, um, I see it as casual labour, ja. So... it's a... it's a verbal agreement whereby, if and when needed, I'll give here call in advance, and if she's available she'll come in and clean the house. Based on that she will get payment. That's it, ja.

Interviewer: Okay, oh, so you don't have, like, a set time...

Participant 4: No.

Interviewer: You call her when you need her?

Participant 4: ... and that became an issue because... um... I mean, some months, like in October, I was away for the whole month. So, I got back and I phoned her, and she was complaining. I said to her, 'well look, that's unfortunately... the... the way it's gonna be', and, um, she didn't like it, but that's it...

- Interviewer: Okay, um, so what type of work does your domestic worker do for you?
- Participant 4:** Well, she would obviously, uh, clean the house, dust, the floor, mop, sweep, uh, clean the bathrooms and do the ironing.
- Interviewer: Okay, does she do any cooking?
- Participant 4:** No.
- Interviewer: Okay, and if you were to have a family with kids would you consider having a domestic worker as a nanny?
- Participant 4:** Mm [yes]
- Interviewer: Okay.
- Participant 4:** Ja.
- Interviewer: And, do you know what the minimum wage is?
- Participant 4:** I honestly don't know. Do you know?
- Interviewer: I do. I've got it here. It just came out. Uh, it went up in January. So for domestic workers who work twenty-seven hours or less, the hourly rate is R15.28.
- Participant 4:** Per hour, okay.
- Interviewer: Per hour. The weekly rate is R412.60 and the monthly rate is R1 787.80.
- Participant 4:** Okay good to know. So... if I was... if I was giving her R300 every second week, it's actually, well, based on the amount of work that she had to do, I think it's fair, or do you disagree?
- Interviewer: Oh, I'd have to work it out, but it sounds fair to me. So how many hours does she work a day?

- Participant 4:** Uh, she would start at 9 O'clock and leave at five, but that's on her own discretion, cause what I say is, 'once you're done, you're welcome to go'. So, it's not a fixed... [pause]
- Interviewer: So, because you're not doing it weekly or monthly, then you could work it out, um, per hour.
- Participant 4:** Okay.
- Interviewer: Um, so having heard that, how do you feel about the minimum wage?
- Participant 4:** I think... it's, it's... it's not enough to my opinion. I mean, what do you do with a R1 700 if you, if you have a kid or whatever, ja.
- Interviewer: Okay.
- Participant 4:** But that's my opinion.
- Interviewer: So, that is for less than twenty-seven hours. If you're a fulltime twenty-seven-hour, ordinary hours, a week or more, then the monthly rate would be R 2 500.
- Participant 4:** Ja that's fair.
- Interviewer: ... So then how do you feel about that?
- Participant 4:** Well, saying if you said a R 1 700
- Interviewer: Ja, that's part-time, not fulltime.
- Participant 4:** Part-time?
- Interviewer: Ja.
- Participant 4:** Ja, I would say... two... two and a half thousand rand would be more beneficial for her, and that's my opinion, but that's on a full-time basis. So, if she doesn't work fulltime and she can work for some other people, then she can actually earn more money.

Interviewer: That's ... true.

Participant 4: Ja.

Interviewer: Okay, so do you know what other legislation and benefits cover your domestic worker?

Participant 4: No. [laughs]

Interviewer: So, you got the... you see I'm just curious...

Participant 4: No its good, ja.

Interviewer: So, you've got the Basic Conditions of the Employment Act. So before 2001 or 2002 I think it was, um, they weren't considered under the... they didn't get a minimum wage. They weren't actually considered... under... as employees, and then they were included in that in 2002, and then... they... for fulltime workers they've got the UIA and then also the Occupational Health and Safety Act covers domestic workers.

Participant 4: Okay.

Interviewer: And then, obviously, they can go to the CCMA, so those are the...

Participant 4: Okay.

Interviewer: Um, and how do you feel about that?

Participant 4: I think it's fair. Ja, everybody wants to work. Everybody wants to be treated fair. So, ja, if you do a fair, honest job then, you know... you want... you want some support, ja.

Interviewer: Okay, that's great, and do you know if your domestic worker's part of a union?

Participant 4: I'm not sure. I don't think so. I don't know. Honestly, I don't know.

Interviewer: Okay.

Participant 4: No.

Interviewer: Do you see the domestic worker as part of the family?

Participant 4: No.

Interviewer: Okay.

Participant 4: A service provider.

Interviewer: A service provider...

Participant 4: That's it.

Interviewer: And is that because she comes so infrequently?

Participant 4: Infrequently, ja.

Interviewer: And, like, your mother's domestic worker, was she seen as part of the family or as just an employee?

Participant 4: Well... now she seem, seems like, ja... I would say she's part of the family. Ja, because I mean, um, she's worked there forever and when, like for instance, I mean, I went there the one day when I was up in Joburg, and I went to say hello to my mom and Joice was there, and she's like, 'hello klein baas [Afrikaans: small boss]'. I'm like, 'don't call me klein baas'. It's... like... that's the way she is, old school.

Interviewer: Okay.

Participant 4: Ja, so I always give her some extra money when I'm there or whatever, but ja.

Interviewer: Okay

Participant 4: There's good people... in any... in any race, so you treat them accordingly.

Interviewer: Um, have you had a different domestic worker work for you before, personally ...?

Participant 4: Personally, uh, yes, um, well, funny thing is, when I used to live in Vanderbijlpark, Joice used to work at my house as well... so... uh... and then when I moved to Joburg, I think, ja I think I had somebody there as well, ja.

Interviewer: So... can you... can you remember how many other domestic workers you've had?

Participant 4: I would say... cause at one stage I was doing everything myself, and I'm actually like this while I was now on my three-week leave period. I did everything myself as well so, um, I would say in total four/five.

Interviewer: Okay.

Participant 4: Ja.

Interviewer: And were any of these domestic workers live-ins?

Participant 4: No.

Interviewer: Um, can you tell me why they no longer work for you?

Participant 4: I relocated to Cape Town.

Interviewer: Okay... no... no problems, and you didn't have to, like, ask any of them to leave?

Participant 4: No.

Interviewer: Okay, and have your experiences with your previous domestic workers changed the way you hired your current domestic worker in any way?

Participant 4: Naa [no]. Look, the way I see it is, being a domestic worker... there's... it's not a very tech, well it's technical but... its... your level of intellect shouldn't be that high., So, all I expect you to do, we'll...

the... the work is just to clean the house and do the ironing, don't burn my clothes and that's it, ja.

Interviewer: Okay, um, were any of your previous domestic workers foreign?

Participant 4: No, all South African.

Interviewer: All South African, okay.

Participant 4: Ja, that's it, ja.

Interviewer: Okay, and did you have contracts with any of your previous domestic workers?

Participant 4: Just verbal.

Interviewer: So... was the... were they mostly part-time as well?

Participant 4: Mhm [yes]

Interviewer: So, you didn't have a contract, or sick leave, or holidays?

Participant 4: No, nothing like that.

Interviewer: Okay.

Participant 4: The only thing I would give them is in December, when I get a bonus, then they get a bonus. I just feel it's fair. So... if they were... if they were earning six hundred or eight hundred rand a month, I would give them a additional eight hundred rand on, like, a double salary.

Interviewer: Okay.

Participant 4: Ja.

Interviewer: And have you had any other domestic workers work fulltime for you?

Participant 4: No.

Interviewer: No, okay. And have you had any domestic worker go to the CCMA before?

Participant 4: No.

Interviewer: Okay, and have you had any male domestic workers?

Participant 4: Like, uh, working in the garden?

Interviewer: No, just housework?

Participant 4: Just in the house, no.

Interviewer: Okay... gardeners are actually considered domestic workers, actually

Participant 4: Mm!

Interviewer: Its interesting

Participant 4: Ja.

Interviewer: But I'm not looking at that.

Participant 4: You're not looking at that sector ...

Interviewer: Because I think people see a difference.

Participant 4: Yes.

Interviewer: Even though the law doesn't necessarily, so.

Participant 4: Okay.

Interviewer: Um, so those are my questions do you have anything you'd like to add or say?

Participant 4: No all good.

Interviewer: Thank you.

Participant 4: That's it?

Interviewer: Ja, that's it.

Participant 4: Done?

Interviewer: Done thank you.

Participant 4: Great.

Transcript of First Interview with Participant 5

| Details | |
|--|------------------------|
| Date | 13/01/2018 |
| Type of Interview | Face to face interview |
| <i>Pseudonyms have been used in this transcript to protect the identity of the participant and his family.</i> | |

Interviewer: Okay, so, do you remember having a domestic worker at home as a child?

Participant 5: Yes.

Interviewer: Um, can you tell me about your relationship with your domestic worker?

Participant 5: Oh, very good. She was part of the family. Ja, no, we loved her. She worked for many years... she worked... for... for my mom and dad, for us, at home, and then after we got married, she came to work for us, and she helped to raise the kids. So, she's been with us, then, those years I think maybe ten to fifteen years.

Interviewer: Wow, is she the domestic worker you have currently, yourself

Participant 5: No.

Interviewer: No, okay. So was she a live-in domestic worker?

Participant 5: Ja.

Interviewer: And has your experience of your domestic worker as a child impacted what you look for in a domestic worker today?

Participant 5: Definitely... I don't... I didn't want a domestic worker that would be just, um, a addon... if I can tell, if I... if I can say it like that. I wanted her to be part of the family. I wanted her to be, um, the right hand, my

right hand, you know. So... that was, it's more like, a, uh... it was a personal thing for me, ja.

Interviewer: And is there a reason you like it like that in particular?

Participant 5: Um, ja. Well, if I look at our lifestyle, um, it's just nice for me... to... to have my hands open... to, to, you know... really to live and let someone else do all the housework, uh, in the first case, but the second thing is also that, um, it's important for me that... the... the lady that cleans your house, that she must be part of your own home, and she must feel part of us. And... um, I don't like, uh... You know, just... to... to quickly bring this in, the house worker that we had when I grew up, um, she did sleep in, but in those days she was not really, we didn't ever, uh, tell her 'you're not allowed to sit with us and have dinner', but... those... in those days it was like they didn't feel comfortable sitting with the rest of the family at the table. Um, so that was different from now, and us currently, she sits with us, she eats with us and, uh, so that's also the difference, but ja, it's just nice to us to do that. We wanted to do that, ja.

Interviewer: Okay, and could you tell me a bit about your family?

Participant 5: Um, we have two kids – girl sixteen, boy fourteen – and then my husband... he... he goes a lot away for work – a lot. I'm at home, um, and four dogs.

Interviewer: Lovely, um, so you've answered a lot of those questions.

Participant 5: Oh good!

Interviewer: Um, so when your kids were smaller... you didn't send them... did you send them to, like, a care facility before they went to school or did your domestic worker look after them?

Participant 5: Um, when they were small, that was up in Gauteng, so that was the lady that was worked for my mom and dad as well. So, with, uh, Josh

she... she used to look after him ...at, um... in the afternoons. So Cindy went to a pre-school, and she was still very small, so my mom... looked at, uh... looked after her in the mornings, and then the domestic worker looked after him in the afternoons. So, ja, we had a bit of that, ja.

Interviewer: Um, so tell me how you came to hire your current domestic worker?

Participant 5: Um, we moved to Cape Town almost ten years ago, and it was difficult to find a good domestic worker. Um, so one of my friends told me about her. Um, she was employed by them previously and they couldn't afford her anymore so she went back to Zimbabwe and then I phoned her, or they actually phoned her on my behalf, and asked if she wanted to come and work for me. So that's how we got her.

Interviewer: Through a friend?

Participant 5: Ja.

Interviewer: Um, so why did you choose... the... the person you have now?

Participant 5: Um, definitely all the qualities that I was looking for, uh, reliable and, um, friendly and, um, I think most of all, um, comfortable in our home from the beginning. Um, she's also a Christian, um ja. I think that's about it. That's the... main... main things, ja

Interviewer: And did you try her out at first?

Participant 5: No.

Interviewer: No.

Participant 5: no, no.

Interviewer: Okay, um, were there any other potential domestic workers you were considering hiring at the time?

- Participant 5:** Not at that stage.
- Interviewer: Okay.
- Participant 5:** As I said, we had a few before her which didn't, uh, work out.
- Interviewer: Okay, that's interesting... and what... What was it about them that you didn't like?
- Participant 5:** Um, well the one lady specifically had a problem with... the, um, uh... how big the home was... how big the house was. She said it's too big for her to manage, um, and then we had two or three ladies that... was just not, um... they didn't do the stuff they needed to do. The one... was also not on... she didn't come to work every day, didn't pitch, um, didn't let me know and all sorts of that stuff, ja.
- Interviewer: And was that in Joburg or was that here?
- Participant 5:** No.. here... here in Cape Town, ja.
- Interviewer: Okay, um, so have you ever hired a domestic worker... through a domestic... through a company?
- Participant 5:** No.
- Interviewer: No, okay, and would you ever do that?
- Participant 5:** No.
- Interviewer: Uh, and what would your reasons for not doing that be?
- Participant 5:** I don't see the need to do that, ja. It's just not personal enough for me, and I don't like to have a third party in-between us, you know. No.
- Interviewer: Okay, and how long has your domestic worker worked for you now?
- Participant 5:** This year it will be seven years.

Interviewer: Seven years, okay. Um, and here it comes [referring to conversation before recording began]... would you prefer to... is your domestic worker a South African citizen?

Participant 5: No Zimbabwean.

Interviewer: Zimbabwean. Um, would you prefer to hire a South African or a foreign domestic worker?

Participant 5: Uh, well, from my experience with her, definitely foreign.

Interviewer: Okay, you were telling me a little bit about your struggle to get her citizenship. Could you talk about that a little bit?

Participant 5: Uh, well, when she got here first, um, it was on a work permit which lasted, I think... um, two... two to three years and then she had to resubmit, reapply... and, um... which we did all the time now. Um, the latest what happened now is she went for a reapplication for a permit, uh, end of last year and they've changed all the stuff. It's now linked with Pretoria. So now they only give out permits for, uh, some people only three months, other people six months. She got six months now. So now she has to reapply every six months for a permit. Um, so... that is, it, it... it gets more difficult and more difficult because that's only the first step... to have this, to... towards citizenship. Um, so ja, that is a problem. So at this stage, it's just like we're doing the reapplication every now and then.

Interviewer: And was it just too difficult to get her citizenship?

Participant 5: Um... I'm not, uh, uh, um... at the moment, I have all the paperwork there. I'm not sure about my facts anymore, unfortunately, out of my head, but there is a few steps to follow and it gets more difficult as you go along... it's... it's a very, uh, complicated process, so ja.

Interviewer: Okay, ja. Um, so... where is... where is your domestic worker from originally?

- Participant 5:** From Zimbabwe.
- Interviewer: Zimbabwe?
- Participant 5:** Ja.
- Interviewer: Okay, um, is your domestic worker employed full-time or part-time?
- Participant 5:** Fulltime.
- Interviewer: Um, how many days a week does she work?
- Participant 5:** Um, she... work... works about, you can say, six days. Um, she gets off weekends. Uh, once a month, a weekend, then she leaves on a Friday and comes back on a Monday. So that's a whole weekend off. So the rest is about... about five to six days you can say six days... rather six days, ja, but she comes in only half a day then on a Saturday.
- Interviewer: Okay, and why did you make this decision?
- Participant 5:** For the working hours?
- Interviewer: Mm [yes]
- Participant 5:** Well, it suits us best, ja.
- Interviewer: And you've said you've got quite a big house, so i imagine...
- Participant 5:** ja.
- Interviewer: Um, was your decision, uh ja, based on the amount of work available, never mind you've answered that. Would you be willing to tell me what your hourly or daily rate is for your domestic worker?
- Participant 5:** We don't have a hourly rate. I just give her a monthly salary.
- Interviewer: Okay, and would you be willing to share that with me?
- Participant 5:** Um, R5 300.00.

Interviewer: Okay, um, and since she's not South African... I imagine... you were saying you can't pay her UIF, even though you would like to. Um, do you provide her with sick leave and holidays?

Participant 5: mhm, yes definitely.

Interviewer: And annual increases?

Participant 5: yes.

Interviewer: And a pension?

Participant 5: No.

Interviewer: No, okay. Does your domestic worker live on your property?

Participant 5: Yes.

Interviewer: Okay, um, and you did this because you said you wanted her to be part of the family. Is that the reason? Are there any other reasons why you wanted her on your property?

Participant 5: It's just easier.

Interviewer: Its just easier

Participant 5: Ja and comfortable, ja.

Interviewer: Okay, do you have a contract?

Participant 5: Uh, no.

Interviewer: Okay and, um, could you explain your reasoning behind that?

Participant 5: I don't really have a reason for that, no [laughs].

Interviewer: Okay.

- Participant 5:** I think... if, if... if she was a citizen of South Africa I would definitely have a contract but, um, no I don't see the reason to do that. we understand each other very good, so.
- Interviewer: Okay, um, are there any, like, reasons that you might be afraid of signing a contract with her?
- Participant 5:** No, not at all, no. I would be happy to do that if I need to.
- Interviewer: Okay, um, so what type of work does your domestic worker do for you?
- Participant 5:** Uh, well... like basic, basic, uh... cleaning of the house, washing, ironing, everything basically?
- Interviewer: Does she cook for you?
- Participant 5:** No, no cooking.
- Interviewer: No cooking, okay, and then when your kids were younger she looked after them?
- Participant 5:** No.
- Interviewer: No okay.
- Participant 5:** No, not this domestic worker, but the previous one.
- Interviewer: Oh yes, the previous one. Thank you. Um, and does she ever look after the kids in the afternoon even though they're teenagers?
- Participant 5:** Well, not looking after them, but because they are actually now big enough to stay at home but, um, I would just tell her... if I'm... if I'm going and say 'okay he's at home or she's at home. We're quickly going, coming back just now', so ja, but they look after themselves.
- Interviewer: Uh, once again, this probably applies to South African citizens. I'm not sure but, um, do you know what the minimum wage is?

Participant 5: I've no idea

Interviewer: Are you're interested?

Participant 5: Uh, you can tell me, ja.

Interviewer: I've got it here somewhere. Uh, you know I have so many papers, if you're interested I can send, oh here we go. So, hourly rate is R13, weekly rate is R587.40 and monthly rate is R2 545, and that's for domestic workers who work more than twenty-seven hours a week.

Participant 5: Okay.

Interviewer: So, having heard that... what are... what are your feelings about the minimum wage?

Participant 5: It's difficult now to think about it because I don't really think about that... I, I... My mind is always just at my own domestic worker so, uh, I don't really know... what is... what to tell you. [laughs]

Interviewer: Well, I mean, you say you paying her R 5000 and this stipulates, like, two, two and a half thousand rand a month... so... which some people feel that it's a bit low, some people are fine with that, so if she was a South African, how would you feel about that?

Participant 5: I will definitely not pay her that, uh, seeing it from that side. There's no way. I mean, that's ridiculous. It's much... too, too... too low for what they do, um, and what they're worth. So no, I would never pay someone that salary.

Interviewer: Okay.

Interviewer: Um, you've mentioned that you've had different domestic workers work for you before. How many have you had work for you? Do you... can you remember?

Participant 5: Well, that will only be in Cape Town. As I say, in Gauteng we had the one lady. Uh, let me quickly think, one, two, four, ja

Interviewer: Four?

Participant 5: Four, ja. That was... and... over a period of two to three years, ja.

Interviewer: And was that including the one you have now?

Participant 5: No, no, no, no. She came only after that.

Interviewer: So, were, um, any of these South African citizens?

Participant 5: Um, I think three of the four. I can't even remember. I know about three definitely, because they were coloured ladies. The one was a black lady, so I'm not sure. I can't remember.

Interviewer: And did any of them live on your property at that time?

Participant 5: No.

Interviewer: Um, and you've explained why you weren't happy with the work they did, and some of them didn't feel comfortable as part of the family the way you wanted them to? Or was it more about the work?

Participant 5: No, it was more about the work, no definitely it was more about the work, ja.

Interviewer: Um, and did your experiences with these domestic workers change the way you hired your current domestic worker?

Participant 5: Um... ja well, it, I definitely, I... it wasn't what I wanted, so that's why I kept on looking for what I wanted and what we needed, so...

Interviewer: And did you hear about all of these, um, from friends?

Participant 5: Shoe, I must remember now. I can't remember. Most probably yes, ja.

Interviewer: Okay... um, so did... did you have contracts with any of these, um, domestic workers?

Participant 5: Uh, yes. I had, I think, about all of them.

Interviewer: Oh, okay.

Participant 5: Ja.

Interviewer: And did that include sick leave, holidays, annual leave...

Participant 5: Ja, ja. I always do all that, ja

Interviewer: Okay, and the UIF as well?

Participant 5: Ja.

Interviewer: Okay, and what were the hours that you had for them, back then, if you can remember?

Participant 5: It should be most probably... uh... I remember I was still working, so definitely from 8 o'clock I should say about to four, ja.

Interviewer: And... have you... have you ever had a domestic worker go to the CCMA?

Participant 5: We actually had the lady in Gauteng. Um, I wasn't aware of the legislation... and the... and the ethical stuff, so when ...we, uh... we moved here for my husband's work and she was, as I said, she's been working for us for years and UIF, everything is up to date, no problems whatsoever, but we weren't aware that if that happened and you relocate, you have to pay her like... a... a once-off, um, what's the English word? Its almost like... a, a, a, um... let me quickly ask him. Wat was daai paket wat ons vir Joice moes betaal daai tyd [English translation: What was that packet that we had to pay our domestic worker at that time]?

- Husband: A severance package.
- Participant 5:** Wat... was... noem jy dit [English translation: what do you call it]?
- Interviewer: Oh, a severance package.
- Participant 5:** Oh okay, ja. ...is dit wat dit was? [English translation: is that what it was]?
- Husband: Ja.
- Participant 5:** Ja.
- Interviewer: Okay.
- Participant 5:** So we weren't aware of that.
- Husband: Ja, cause... ja, it's a, um... it's like a retrenchment package, a severance package that we had to pay which she sued us for. We weren't aware of that, because the circumstances under which we had to move it was, we didn't see it that way.
- Interviewer: Okay.
- Participant 5:** So, it was a relocation for us, but we were actually supposed to pay her this money, so I got a phone call. I was, like, shocked to my bones. I was actually very, um, disappointed, not disappointed. I mean, that's her right, but I would have liked it if she could have spoken to me first and tell me 'listen this is this case, okay', but I also understand her side of the story. Anyways, so we did pay it anyway. So that was sorted out.
- Interviewer: Okay.
- Participant 5:** But, ja...
- Interviewer: So, did that affect the way you hired your other domestic workers?

- Participant 5:** Well, definitely in the way of keeping to the law. So that's why I definitely made a point of keeping to the law as far as I could. Uh, I mean, I didn't. So that's why I still say, even now, with my current domestic worker, I would love... to give her... to pay UIF just to keep to... But I mean now... that's just so... that's actually, um, silly if you think about it. I want to do the right thing, but I can't do it because she's not a citizen, but anyway.
- Interviewer: So do you know what the laws are around foreign domestic workers?
- Participant 5:** Um, I'm not sure, but I know that you can't register them for UIF. That I know. For the rest, I'm not sure.
- Interviewer: Okay, um, I must also look that up and if you want i can send you any information.
- Participant 5:** Ja, that will be good, ja.
- Interviewer: I will just make a note of that.
- Participant 5:** Ja.
- Interviewer: Um, so is there anything else you'd like to add?
- Participant 5:** Um, well, I was just thinking now... I've... I've never thought about pension. You actually now make me think about that and I wondered, maybe you can maybe try to find that out for me? I would love to know how we can do that, her not being a South African citizen, how doable that is, because I would love to do that actually ... I'd actually love to do that. I've never thought about that before.
- Interviewer: I'll definitely find that out for you.
- Participant 5:** Good thanks.
- Interviewer: And... um, shame it's... it's interesting that you felt that your domestic worker in Gauteng was so part of the family, and yet she, she did that?

Participant 5: Exactly. That's why I was so disappointed.

Interviewer: And could you, like, figure out... why... why you think she did that?

Participant 5: She was... a different lady... um, to the... to the degree that ...uh, we had a... we had a very good relationship, but in the same sense, um, many days she came into work and I knew, okay today I must just leave her alone, you know, so [laughs]. She had a... she had a side to her, not bad, but that was her personality and, um, I just think maybe, somehow, she thought that we did it on purpose and I don't know why still, until today. I don't know why. And we had a very good relationship after that. I mean, when we visited Gauteng we went to go and see her and... kept... kept up on whatsapp's and everything. Um, so that was all restored afterwards.

Interviewer: Okay.

Participant 5: So I really don't know what happened that time, but luckily it was sorted.

Interviewer: Well, those are all my questions. I don't know if there's anything else, if you feel like adding ?

Participant 5: No I'm ... I'm good thanks.

Interviewer: Well, thank you. That was very helpful and I really appreciate, um...

Participant 5: No it's a pleasure.

Interviewer: You doing this with me.

Transcript of Follow-Up Interview with Participant 5

| Details | |
|--|-------------------------------|
| Date | 14/05/2019 |
| Type of Interview | Questions answered over email |
| <i>Pseudonyms have been used in this transcript to protect the identity of the participant and his family.</i> | |

Interviewer: What is your home language?

Participant 5: Afrikaans

Interviewer: At the time of our previous interview, how long had your family been living in your house in Cape Town?

Participant 5: 8 years

Interviewer: How large was your house at the time of the interview? (Square meters, number of rooms, size of the yard etc.)

Participant 5: Double storey, 4 bedrooms, study, linen room, laundry room, 3 bathrooms, 2 extra toilets, braai room, tv room x 3, dining and kitchen

Interviewer: At the time of the previous interview, what was your husband's occupation?

Participant 5: Manager

Interviewer: Would you be willing to provide me with your household's income at the time of the previous interview?

Participant 5: No

Interviewer: At the time of the previous interview, what was the home country of your domestic worker?

Participant 5: Zimbabwe

Interviewer: In our previous interview, you mentioned that your domestic worker lived on your property. You also mentioned that she would have a full weekend off once a month.

Participant 5: Yes

Interviewer: Did your domestic worker have alternative accommodation in Cape Town which she could share with relatives or friends on weekends?

Participant 5: Yes

Interviewer: Were there any specific reasons why your domestic worker opted to stay on your property rather than stay elsewhere?

Participant 5: No

Interviewer: Did your domestic worker stay in a room in your house or did she stay in a room or flat outside the house?

Participant 5: Room outside the house

Interviewer: In our previous interview, you mentioned that a previous domestic worker in Gauteng helped with looking after your son in the afternoons when he was still little. She did not, however, look after your little girl who was sent to pre-school and was looked after by her granny. Did I understand this correctly?

Participant 5: yes

Interviewer: Why did your domestic worker look after your son but not your daughter?

Participant 5: My mother had back problems and could not attend to both my children

Interviewer: At what stage did you feel she did not need to look after your son anymore?

Participant 5: When he went to a playschool once he was old enough

Interviewer: Did your experiences with your domestic worker in Gauteng influence your decision to hire a foreign domestic worker in Cape Town in any way?

Participant 5: No

Interviewer: In our previous interview, you mentioned that having your domestic worker stay on your property suited your family very well. Could you describe in what ways having her stay on your property was helpful?

Participant 5: She doesn't need to travel, pay extra somewhere else for accommodation, she is nearby should we need her for anything extra such as looking after the dogs etc.

Interviewer: How much do you feel the minimum wage should be for domestic workers?

Participant 5: I have no idea

Interviewer: Would you be willing or able to pay this?

Participant 5: I am very sure that I already pay way more than the minimum wage

Interviewer: If the government were to up the minimum wage for domestic workers, how much would be too much for you to keep your domestic worker on?

Participant 5: I don't know as I don't know what the minimum wage are

Interviewer: What is the maximum amount per day that you would be willing to pay your domestic worker?

Participant 5: I don't pay her daily, but monthly

Interviewer: Do you think it is easy to find information on the regulations around domestic work (including foreign domestic workers) in South Africa?

(e.g. information on the minimum wage, when/if to have a contract, UIF, CCMA, bargaining counsel, etc.)

Participant 5: I haven't done a search for a very long time - so I won't know

Interviewer: Is some information easier to find than other information?

Participant 5: NA

Interviewer: How do you think this could be improved?

Participant 5: NA

Interviewer: Do you have any other comments you would like to make?

Participant 5: No

Transcript of First Interview with Participant 6

| Details | |
|--|------------------------|
| Date | 22/04/2018 |
| Type of Interview | Face to face interview |
| <i>Pseudonyms have been used in this transcript to protect the identity of the participant and his family.</i> | |

Interviewer: So, thank you again for meeting me.

Participant 6: Pleasure.

Interviewer: Letting me interview you, and I just wanna reiterate that you will remain anonymous.

Participant 6: Okay.

Interviewer: And, um, if you are uncomfortable with any question, you don't have to feel pressured to answer it.

Participant 6: No problem.

Interviewer: Okay ... So, do you remember having a domestic worker at home as a child?

Participant 6: Yes.

Interviewer: So, tell me about your relationship with your childhood domestic worker?

Participant 6: Very close, because both parents worked and we had a live-in domestic, so she performed a lot of the duties, i.e. getting breakfasts ready, helping out with supper sometimes as well, she was basically running the home, intrinsically running the home.

Interviewer: Mm, okay. So, you mentioned she was a live-in domestic worker?

Participant 6: Correct.

Interviewer: And so, has... Do you feel your experience of your domestic worker as a child has influenced what you look for in a domestic worker today?

Participant 6: Yes.

Interviewer: In what ways?

Participant 6: Um, it's very difficult to build up a rapport with a domestic worker first off, so we try and basically, we received our domestic through a friend, so it was basically in consultation with a friend and recommendation from a friend. Big part of having a domestic is building the element of trusting, because you are leaving your home to them, and your home is open to them, um, whenever they are, uh, working in it, so trust [inaudible 00:01:29].

Interviewer: Okay, Um, anything else, like the duties that you expect her to do?

Participant 6: Well, first and foremost, they need to do their duties pretty well, and that you gauge by taking a look at your friend's homes, how their homes look and that kind of stuff, and you basically gauge and take your, your views from here, and then from there you work on, you know exactly what's happening in your home, you also, over couple of months, you need to build a rapport with the domestic, and get the ebb and flow the relationship so that you know what their strengths are, what their weaknesses are, and we've got a fantastic domestic, so we're at the level where she really knows what needs to be done, and you don't have to tell her to do the extra's. It's intrinsically just there you know, she... But we, we think we've got a gem. I've... heard other stories of others, but that's neither here nor there, you know?

Interviewer: Okay. So, could you tell me a bit about your family, currently, like how many people you live with?

Participant 6: Currently we've got myself, my wife and two young adults. So we've got a 19-year-old and a 20-year-old. So, the role of the domestic for me is basically a little bit of a mind game, not mind game, but we've got two young adults that could be fulfilling those roles but they don't, and that's the only reason why we do have a domestic, you know. I believe that we... It's not that... If we, if Sandra and myself, we work a full day's work, um, and the kids had to be working too, I would understand having the domestic, but the domestic knows even though we've got the two kids at home, we're having a domestic. So, to me it's a...real... It's a luxury item as opposed to a necessity at the moment, but, it's a luxury item more than a necessity because the kids aren't fulfilling the basic role of, of just helping out in the house.

Interviewer: Okay.

Participant 6: Okay.

Interviewer: Um, so, did... When your children were um, pre-school age, did you have a domestic worker that looked after them then?

Participant 6: Yes, in my former marriage we did, um, that was primarily to assist, because we had young kids that needed attention. My ex-wife lived at home. I mean, she didn't work, lived at home, of course she lived at home, but didn't work. Um, she was a stay-at-home-mom, but because it was three, with the, with the duties of raising three kids, she needed assistance at home as well, so we had a domestic in for three days of the week and ja. Um, and that too was just to help balance out things, you know. Um, I didn't want to put pressure on my wife to... raise the kids and keep the house clean, because it's quite...difficult. Um, and that was the, the requirement there, was just to help and assist her.

Interviewer: Okay. So, tell me a little bit more about how you came to hire your current domestic worker, I know you say you heard about her through a friend?

Participant 6: Yes. So, um, I've got a good friend who is a single mom. Um, daughter's at varsity most of the, uh, most of the day actually. She drops her at eight, fetches her at half past five, and then to come home to have to still clean up. So, um, seen her place numerous times, always in mint condition, and, uh, I'm tired of coming home to a home that's dirty even though there's kids there. So, I said please can we, uh, utilise your domestic, and we're actually sharing the domestic now. So, the domestic has got all full time between the two of us, has got full time work for the full week. Um, and that's how we, we've been sharing it. Yes it does, the two days are important days to my friend...But, uh, they're working around that, you know?

Interviewer ...Okay, um so were, were you looking for any oth... Like did you meet any other domestic workers at the time or, did you just hear about this one and you were very happy with her?

Participant 6: Um, just heard about this one and was very happy with her and again its born out of a relationship or friendship that I got with my friend, which if I trust her and then, more important, you can see how her place looks. Um, so, word of mouth really helped there. Were we sceptical, of course we were, because there's the element of our relationship with the domestic... You know, um, she might not want to do half the stuff that we expecting her to do... you know and , um, so it's, it is a relationship that, that has to be worked on and it does grow you know, and... every domestic that we've had over the years, it is a, it's a diff... Very different type of relationship if that makes sense, you know.

Interviewer ...Okay, um, have you ever hired a domestic worker through like a company?

Participant 6: No.

Interviewer: No, okay, um, and how long has your current domestic worker, worked for you?

- Participant 6:** A year.
- Interviewer: A year, okay. Um, is she a South African citizen? Do you know?
- Participant 6:** Yes, she is actually, yes she is, she is.
- Interviewer: Would you hire, would you prefer to hire a South-African or a foreign domestic worker? Or does it not play a role?
- Participant 6:** I think the type of work that we're requiring, I'm not too interested in that... To be very honest with you, I'm looking for a person to do a job and to fulfil their job, um and then again have that element of trust with. Um, whether it's foreign or not, is another thing altogether. If I could get a French au pair that would be great but I don't think my wife would allow... [Laughs]. But, it's, it's, it fundamentally, it's about doing a job. I don't...think any of our critical ah, questions are, 'are you a South African national?', you know. So that's never crossed my mind.
- Interviewer: Okay. Um, do you know if she's from Cape Town?
- Participant 6:** Yes.
- Interviewer: Do you know where, where she...?
- Participant 6:** Khayelitsha.
- Interviewer: Khayelitsha? Okay. Um, and you said, you said you use her services twice a week?
- Participant 6:** Twice a week - Wednesdays and Saturdays, to be specific.
- Interviewer: ...Okay. Was there a particular reason why you chose two days a week?
- Participant 6:** Yes, ah, it's just...enough of a gap between my wife and myself to kind of do the work that the kids should, in my opinion, should be

doing. Um, otherwise I would've had her in thrice, but twice is...gonna suffice, for now.

Interviewer: Okay. Um what is your hourly or daily rate, or your monthly rate, for your domestic worker?

Participant 6: Well, the daily rate is R200. Um, that was just the amount given to me by my friend. And, I'm sure she's worth more than that, but, uh, today's economic climate is what it is, you know. And as I said, it is a...luxury...considering the fact that we've got two grown up kids at home who could do it.

Interviewer: So, um, do you provide your domestic worker with sick leave?

Participant 6: We don't have a formal contract.

Interviewer: Okay.

Participant 6: So, it's not a formal contract. Um, if she can't make it, she can't make it and we bear the brunt. At the end of the day it's her R200 that she's not getting, um, and I think, because it's not formalised, we can't offer the other, other services.

Interviewer: And, it's not quite full time?

Participant 6: No, it's not. The other thing is she does have full, uh, access to anything that she needs to eat, drink during the day. We have no problem with her. I'd rather her do it than the damn kids, to be honest with you, cause they just sit there. So, so ja, at least she's earning her keep then.

Interviewer: Okay, and in terms of annual increases?

Participant 6: Annual increase we would be looking at it soon, possibly in the July month, just to see how the things are going and also, I do touch base with my friend who actually, uh helps out. I mean, she helps out on the

other side. So, we have been chatting about that, but that's probably looking at mid-July.

Interviewer ...Would you ever consider having a domestic worker live on your property?

Participant 6: We can't, and that's purely because I don't have a big enough home. If I had a live-in...I mean I've experienced having a live-in domestic, and to me it was a fantastic experience. She was almost my second mom, basically. Um, but at the moment no, and that's purely because of, um, the size of my home, and that kind of thing, and also I don't think, again, it's almost like a grudge purchase for me at the moment, um but if we ever had to get to that stage, it would be because everybody is busy...[inaudible]

Interviewer: Um, and you mentioned you don't have, like a written contract with your domestic worker?

Participant 6: No.

Interviewer: Were there any particular reasons why you felt you didn't want one?

Participant 6: Um, to be honest with you, never thought about it, um because it's through our friend, and our friend, I think our friend has a written contract with her. And that's almost like, here's two days that you can have with her, but please...the only consideration is pay the same rate. So [inaudible: 00:11:53].

Interviewer: Okay. Um, is there anything about a written contract that puts you off?

Participant 6: No.

Interviewer: Um, so what type of work does your domestic worker do for you?

Participant 6: Everything.

Interviewer: Does she cook as well?

- Participant 6:** No, so no cooking, um, windows, floors, um, vacuuming in the main rooms, sweeping in...the lounge areas and the kitchen areas, mopping, uh, ironing. She doesn't have to do the washing, the washings always prepped for her. Um, windows, you name it, every nook and cranny she does.
- Interviewer: Okay, um do you know what the minimum wage is for domestic workers at the moment?
- Participant 6:** Absolutely not.
- Interviewer: I can tell you.
- Participant 6:** Please do, so I can feel bad.
- Interviewer: [Laughing]. Actually, you won't. So, for domestic workers working 27 hours or less...
- Participant 6:** Ja.
- Interviewer: The hourly rate is R15.28.
- Participant 6:** Ja.
- Interviewer: The weekly rate is R412.
- Participant 6:** Weekly rate, R400?
- Interviewer: That's ja, but, I mean I don't know how many days a week they're referring to. So, it would be easier to work it out by the hourly rate.
- Participant 6:** Ja.
- Interviewer: And then the monthly rate, R1,787. But once again they're not mentioning how many days a week, so the hourly rate is easier to work out from.
- Participant 6:** Correct. I mean R1,700 for a monthly rate.

- Interviewer: I assume that would be for someone who is working at least 27 hours and that is in our area, so for someone...
- Participant 6:** So, my domestic then in a month is making R1,600 compared to the R1700 and that's two days, that's what, 16 hours. Okay so we, we sort of, it doesn't make me feel good because you still feel that the value of what they're doing is far more than the 200 bucks, if that makes sense, you know?
- Interviewer: But I mean the minimum wage is actually quite low.
- Participant 6:** Mm.
- Interviewer: And for, amazingly enough, for 27 hours or more, it's R13 an hour instead of R15.
- Participant 6:** So, it drops.
- Interviewer: Ja, but I, that's probably because they figure that it will be over a...
- Participant 6:** Longer period. Makes sense. Okay.
- Interviewer: ...Um, where was I. Um, do you know what other legislation benefits cover your domestic worker?
- Participant 6:** No.
- Interviewer: ...So, for a full time domestic worker which you don't have, then they would fall under the UI... UIA.
- Participant 6:** Okay, which is fair.
- Interviewer: But, um, other than that, they're under the Basic Conditions of Employment Act, believe it or not they weren't always.
- Participant 6:** Ja.

- Interviewer: Um, also the Occupational Health and Safety Act, and then they got access to the CCMA.
- Participant 6:** Which is fair.
- Interviewer: Um, and I think the Occupational Health and Safety Act...
- Participant 6:** But even in our, even in our scenario, it's just on a year, if not going a year and a bit, that's consistent. The fact that it's two days a week is irrelevant, the fact that it's 16 hours a week is irrelevant, this is just my opinion, because there's an expectation. Um, I'm expected to come to work, and I'm expecting her to come to work, you know, um. From her side, it might be the R1,600 she needs a month, to get by, for me, it's something different, but there should be a little bit than more than just a, I don't need you anymore, kind of scenario.
- Interviewer: Mm. So, if your domestic worker works 24 hours or more..., then, then um, all those kind of things will apply when you have to give notice, give her enough time...
- Participant 6:** Okay.
- Interviewer: If she has to leave...
- Participant 6:** Ja.
- Interviewer: Etc. but because it's part-time work, it's different.
- Participant 6:** Ja. But, I'm just saying, just out of mere expectation over such a long period of time...
- Interviewer: Ja.
- Participant 6:** One would expect a little bit more stickiness to the obligation of their employment.
- Interviewer: ...Um so do you see your domestic worker as part of the family?

Participant 6: I do, I do.

Interviewer: Could you elaborating on that?

Participant 6: She's gotten to know us, you know. There's the daily banter...Um, so you do get to know the person. More importantly, she's involved in quite delicate stuff with us, you know. Um, and there is a rapport, I think more importantly, is the rapport. She knows the kids, she gets to see the kids more, more often than not, um, because they're at home all the time, and with us, we trust her in that environment. So she is, you can say she's like part of the family, even if it's for the two days.

Interviewer: Um, and have you had other domestic workers work for you in the past?

Participant 6: Yes.

Interviewer: Okay, how many? Can you remember?

Participant 6: About four.

Interviewer: Okay, were any of these domestic workers male?

Participant 6: No [laughs]

Interviewer: Okay [laughs]

Participant 6: Are you still to find your one male?

Interviewer: I've heard of them...

Participant 6: Ja.

Interviewer: But I haven't spoken to anyone ... [laughing].

Participant 6: No.

- Interviewer: Have you, um, did any of these domestic workers live on your property?
- Participant 6:** Sorry?
- Interviewer: Did any of these domestic workers live on your property?
- Participant 6:** Uh, not since I've left home.
- Interviewer: Okay.
- Participant 6:** So, the only live-in was when I was at home.
- Interviewer: Okay. Um, could you tell me why they no longer work for you? Were there any issues?
- Participant 6:** One was, I left home [laughing]. Um, and also, because I left home there was no need for the extra hands. Um, I think the domestic worker still works for my mom but not as...much.
- Interviewer: And any of your other domestic workers?
- Participant 6:** Um, yes, uh, the others left, funny enough, all of them left for the same reason, needing to go back to the Eastern Cape. So, there was either family issue that happened. They went to the Eastern Cape and they just never made it back. So, that's a bit hard because you...know you invest, it's not that you invested in someone, it's that you've, you've shared quite a bit with someone and it's a pity that they can't make it back, if that makes sense? And a lot of the time, there was one where there was just um, no communication further, and remember we're talking about sometime when there wasn't a cell phone around. So, you know, you hope and pray that they're coming back. Uh, that was the first one, after that there was cell phones and then it was a lot easier to communicate, 'I can't come back and that's a family issue', you know. Um, I think from a socio-economic point of view, we forget and we take for granted that um, it's easy for us to move around, but not so

much for others, and there's a greater...there might be something more urgent to them on their side.

Interviewer: Okay.

Participant 6: You don't mind if I smoke?

Interviewer: No, go for it, um. So, have your experiences over the years with different domestic workers, um changed the way you currently hire domestic workers?

Participant 6: Yes. Um, there was one very bad experience. So my methodology was always, work through someone to get, to get the best... Um Sandra got a domestic for us, um, we're talking 10 years ago, and they robbed us blind.

Interviewer: Oh wow, okay.

Participant 6: Ja, and funny enough it wasn't even within a three month period. So, you know, there are those chancers that, you know, you get a bad one, and the... It was the domestic because it was a in-house job, you know, um, unfortunately, and that was that. Um, after that, we went back to our tried and tested routine of going through good friends to get a domestic.

Interviewer: So how did you get that, that particular domestic worker?

Participant 6: Sandra got her through, I really don't know. But it wasn't...it wasn't the conventional way. It wasn't the, 'hey let's sit down, let's talk about your domestic, and...rap about what's the rates, um what's the hours, is she good at coming on time, is she reliable, um does she at least let you know?'...To me the most important thing is, does she let you know if she's not going to be able to make it? In South Africa we unfortunately don't have the best public transport system. So some, some places are very far to reach. Milnerton Ridge is not an easy place to get to. And when you put yourself in, in their shoes, you realize getting to the

house is not easy, you know. Um, so I'm very, very easy when it comes to letting me know you can't make it for the day, you know. Uh, it's not a train smash, its dishes, it's, it's not life-threatening, but the main point is, having the respect just to let me know. Not me chasing you, you know. Um, and I think our last three domestics were exactly like that. We had it very good, but again, the devil's in the detail in asking the right questions, you know. So ja, it's not a perfect science.

Interviewer ...Mm. Um, did you have written contracts with any of your previous domestic workers?

Participant 6: Yes.

Interviewer: You did?

Participant 6: Yes. Yes, we did, ah, I remember Sandra and I writing up one for the second last one. She was more of a permanent basis, you know, almost every day kind of thing.

Interviewer: Okay, so that does make a difference?

Participant 6: It does, it does, and she went through, well she broke it off with us. Sometimes it's like break up...you know [laughs]. And, uh, she had a better opportunity and she went for it. She was going to be living...in Constantia with a... Ja, it was a cousin of hers that got the recommendation for her, and took it from there. So, they do move up in the world as well, you know?

Interviewer: Okay. Um, what type of things did you include in your contract, can you remember?

Participant 6: Um, I think the main stuff. Sandra put in there, was mainly the notice period. We did understand the fact that there's the UIF and all of that nonsense and we would obviously start working back to your figure. Um, but the main thing was the notice period, because we investing in

someone and for our continuities sake you know, I know that's a selfish thing, a notice period is quite important.

Interviewer: And sick leave? I would imagine she would've put all that in.

Participant 6: I think it was a standard contract. To be honest with you, the sick leave kind of thing, didn't make a difference to me, because it is what it is. You know, I don't think we enforced bringing a sick notice that kind of thing because you're dealing with humans, she needed to work, she enjoyed the work, um, and. Well, I don't know if she enjoyed it. She at least looked like she was happy, you know. Um, but the environment was good, a good one, you know, so...we left on good terms. I think that was the main thing, she was going to a better place. That was great, and we were happy for her.

Interviewer: Okay, that's great. Um, so have you ever had a domestic worker go to the CCMA?

Participant 6: It would have had to been her, and she didn't, so ja. So by default, no.

Interviewer: Okay, so um, that's all my questions, but do you feel like you would like to add anything?

Participant 6: I don't think it's regulated enough. I think there's a lot of abuse towards domestics. I do think they need to up the, the basic, um, pay. Because while we're looking at things, everything's going up, um, and they're not. Uh, I dunno how much they can actually make. You know, there's scope for making a lot more money, um, if you get that right. Um, I think just the basic standard for them, it would almost become a true profession you know. Um, should we have an entry level for education? We could speak about that as well. Um, I think that might be taking a little too far, but definitely upping their basic standards would be great for them. Mainly because the economy is the economy what we're dealing with and you don't want a scenario where trust is broken. Okay, it's like the, it's like the police. Pay them better. You

know, pay them like it's a true profession and maybe there's less corrupt cops, less crime then obviously, you know. So, um, these people are coming into your homes. Treat them with that kind of respect, and then up the level of pay, and that's what I would say. Uh, it's just if you formalise it, it just makes it a formal thing and then you can actually contract properly, and then I think it would give a lot more ease to the communities to know, shit, I can do this, and I've, I've got some sort of cover. I'm not gonna just be dropped one day you know, because people depend on us for basic needs and we take that as a luxury, and you take a look at most homes, it is a luxury to have a domestic, you know. Um, in my case, I'm grinding my teeth with the fact that we have to have a domestic, but we do because I don't want my wife to come home and do the dishes. You know, she works hard day at work, I work hard days work, so why must she come home to, if, if I can afford it? I can afford it, you know. It's some things that... One less stress off, but I do believe, formalise it, um, increase the basic wage, so it makes it a lot more, um, attractive for them as well, you know. Because you do get bad apples, and the bad apples is purely because they're trying to, nobody wants to steal...you know. Nobody wants to be a criminal, um but you get forced into that because of socio-economic scenario, and one way of trying to eradicate it is a basic, a higher basic, that's my opinion.

Interviewer: Okay, thank you.

Participant 6: What's your opinion?

Interviewer: My opinion, I think it's complicated especially now since they want to bring out a minimum wage across all sectors... Which I think is a very bad idea, because then we... I don't know if you've heard about it? So they're, they're thinking of coming out with a minimum wage instead of having sectoral determinations like this where different professions will have different minimum wages...

Participant 6: Correct.

- Interviewer: They just want to make it standard, but I don't think that'll make sense and I think it would only be R3,000 a month, so I'm not quite sure what the details are but I...
- Participant 6:** I think a big-bang approach is not the way to go because then how do you aspire to be something else, you know?
- Interviewer: I do think they are paid too little. I agree with you there, and, but in terms of regulating it, I think it's very difficult, because we're trying to regulate something that's happening in people's homes, which is um, some people are very iffy about, but I do agree with you..
- Participant 6:** Well, I mean, if you want the service, you want the service, you know, and I think if we do that properly, um, it benefits both parties. I know that I'm protected..., um, the domestic knows that she's protected – or he, your illusive 'he' that you're looking for – and I think the main thing there is the protective part for both parties.. Um, you know things happen on both sides. People lose jobs, they can't afford it anymore, so now you have to. I mean, ex-wife and I had a long term, um, I think it just started when you needed to have a contract...if it was a...full-time domestic, and we actually had to go through it and we had a contract in place with her, and when she started reneging on some of her responsibilities, it was a discussion, it wasn't a... you know, because I mean she loved cricket and summertime would be the worst time for us, because ever so often I'd come home just to check on the kids and that and my domestic's having a nice cup of tea watching test match cricket...and I'm like....Okay. She's like, "No, I'm just on lunch," I check in with the wife and she says, "No she was on lunch since 12," and I says, "It's bloody two o'clock now." You know, [laughs]. Ja, so it does help, you know, and it's the contract is not to beat, but to guide. Well at least that's what...that's my management style, so we have been able to come [inaudible: 00:30:30 to 00:30:35] it's one of those things, but ja. Good luck with this.
- Interviewer: Thank you so much.

- Participant 6:** I'd love to know what your formal take on it is, afterwards.
- Interviewer: Definitely.
- Participant 6:** Because I'm sure you're sure you've, you're using this to benchmark your, your opinion.
- Interviewer: Yes, obviously but I don't want to form an opinion until I have like...
- Participant 6:** For sure, you need to have a substantial amount of interviews in the above and those questions, where they given to you or did you...?
- Interviewer: No, so, I came up with them.
- Participant 6:** Okay.
- Interviewer: With my supervisor and I, because I've done a literature review already, so I've looked at other literature that has some looked at similar cases to this.
- Participant 6:** Have you looked at international trends?
- Interviewer: I have, yes, um, but I think South Africa is unique because of our history, so I know that during apartheid, particularly Black women were only allowed, the only work they were allowed to really do was domestic work, and when that... When, at the end of apartheid everything changed, and then in 2001 they were included under than the minimum wage, and I think it was in 97 when they were included under the Basic Conditions of Employment Act. so South Africa is quite unique in that sense.
- Participant 6:** But also, the fact that I mean, you must think about, the means to higher education wasn't there. So, you have, you have a heap of resource that's unskilled and [inaudible: 00:32:09] so that's...
- Interviewer: So, it would also be interesting to see how much things have changed since 94 to the present, which is...

Participant 6: I... I think it's, it takes generations hey. It takes generations because it starts off with that education, you know, um.

Interviewer: Ja, education is so important.

Participant 6: If mom was a domestic, I'm going into domestic and...

Interviewer: Well, I know of a lot of people whose moms were domestics, and managed to somehow, with the help of their employers put their children though like, a good school and university which is...

Participant 6: Amazing. Two good mates of mine, one who was adopted by the [inaudible 00:32:54], so their mom was a domestic for the [inaudible: 00:32:56], it was quite a wealthy Jewish family, and he is now, senior director at some, at 41... So, but he did it the hard way as well. So what he did was, although he knew he had a pot of gold, he wasn't worried about money, so for him it was more a thing of, I need to do this for myself, I'd like to do this. So he went, he spent two years working at McDonalds... He was intrigued by the whole set up... He was just like, okay, so, for me to get a burger, how does this work, I know that I order it, and then it comes in [inaudible 00:33:43], but I'm wondering the process...of how that works. And, he spent two years working in McDonalds. He then chose to study, he did a...degree and then ops was his game. He just loved operations and he's flying now.

Interviewer: Wow, that's wonderful.

Participant 6: But...it's the drive. Whatever you want to do, it's the drive. Some people don't have the resources to do it but they have the drive, others have the resources, don't have the drive.

Interviewer: Ja, and then you get the great combination.

Participant 6: And, then you get the great combination, and then it's a wonderful world.

Interviewer: Ja, so, I've have done a lot of extra reading and stuff, so these were just like my own questions, which I've been adding on slowly but surely, so if you have any suggestions for extra questions I should ask, feel free.

Participant 6: Why do you pay the rate you pay?

Interviewer: That's a good question, mm, that's a good question.

Participant 6: Because, I know from my side, because it's a luxury item...Um, it is. I view a domestic as a luxury item...but that's my view. Because both Sandra and myself have two hands, so we can do what we need to do. It's just, do we want to spend our evenings doing that, working, coming home, doing that, you know? Or do we want to come home to a nice, clean home and do [enjoy] the fruits of our labour? We're able to have that as a luxury. So, I see it as a luxury item. Sometimes it's a necessity...because you've got young kids, you need somebody at home, you need the place cleaned as well. It's a win/win situation, but you still have to have the means to employ somebody. Fundamentally, it's a luxury item, if that makes sense. Um, it does eradicate quite a, quite a bit of society within, within our community. You know, so I think when I say, why do you pay the rate you pay and, is it because...you've got X amount disposable income, and that's what your trade-off is, or is it because that's what you value it to be, you know? Um, and I think it's a mixture, you know. When they said R200 a day, I score. And I did, I said score, and things change so quickly, you know. We had to buy a car for Sandra, that's an extra almost R3,000 a month. So, you know, you've got to be able to have that kind of flexibility as well...and...what is the first thing to go on the expenses [inaudible 00:36:59]...You know. That's why I say, regulation would be a really great way of securing that, you know, because people won't, A- go into it at a whim...There's nothing worse than going at something for a whim, because I wouldn't want to walk into my employers, and they go like, aha, you know what... we had a bad month, so cheers... It's peoples' lives, you have to realise. So, it's

just a different take, it's just my take on it. Um, but why do you pay the rate, I think that would be my, that would be my question I would ask.

Interviewer: So, why do you pay the rate you pay?

Participant 6: Because I can afford it. I can afford it, and I can also up it, if I need to up it, and not feel like it's killing me. So, I'm in a happy space. I'd hate to start off on a rate that I can't up at any stage, because at some stage, you're gonna need to, you know. And she's happy with the rate, um, again because we're dealing with um, through a friend to get the resource, she gave the rate. It was her rate, not my rate, okay, um, and, I was happy with it. It was something that I could afford, and I said 'fine, two days'. So, ja...

Interviewer: Thank you so much. I really appreciate...

Follow-Up Interview with Participant 6

| Details | |
|--|--------------|
| Date | 19/05/2019 |
| Type of Interview | Face to face |
| <i>Pseudonyms have been used in this transcript to protect the identity of the participant and his family.</i> | |

Interviewer: Thanks for agreeing to do this again. So I just wanted to follow up on some questions.

Participant 6: Ja.

Interviewer: So, at the time of our previous interview, can you remember what Sandra's occupation was. Sorry your wife's occupation. When I transcribe this I won't put your names in.

Participant 6: She was in marketing.

- Interviewer: And do you remember your domestic worker's place of residence?
- Participant 6:** No.
- Interviewer: And her home language?
- Participant 6:** No. These are different questions.
- Interviewer: These are questions I forgot to ask you so, but some of them will be ...
- Participant 6:** But she's very fluent in English, exceptionally fluent in English.
- Interviewer: So, do you know if she was a South African citizen?
- Participant 6:** No.
- Interviewer: It's no problem. It's like a tick box.
- Participant 6:** Yea
- Interviewer: Um, do you know what the size of your house or apartment was, at the time of interview?
- Participant 6:** I can't remember, and we're still staying there, so that's shocking.
- Interviewer: Do you know how many, like rooms?
- Participant 6:** Yes, we've got a three-bedroom home, uh, two bathrooms double garage.
- Interviewer: And do you have a yard outside?
- Participant 6:** Yes, we do.
- Interviewer: Do you have, like, an outhouse?
- Participant 6:** No, we don't have an outhouse, otherwise I'd be sleeping there, a lot.
- Interviewer: Do you rent your place?

Participant 6: Yes, we rent it.

Interviewer: If you're not comfortable answering any of these questions, you're not obliged to answer. Um, so, in our previous interview you mentioned that you would consider having a live-in domestic worker of your house was larger. Um, would you want her to stay inside of the house?

Participant 6: Yes.

Interviewer: Okay, so, not outside...

Participant 6: inaudible [01:58].

Interviewer: Okay.

Participant 6: Unless, I have a cottage then... cause then she could have her own privacy. We don't have small kids anymore so it would be a good divide between us.

Interviewer: Okay, and would owning versus renting your house make a difference in your decision to have a live-in domestic worker?

Participant 6: No.

Interviewer: No, so, you'd even have a domestic worker working for you even if you were renting. Okay, so you also said in our previous interview that your domestic worker worked for you twice a week, and I remember that it had something to do with sharing your domestic worker with a friend at the time, but was the decision also financially motivated?

Participant 6: Very much so.

Interviewer: Okay, so, did you feel that two days was enough for her to keep the house clean?

Participant 6: More than enough.

Interviewer: More than enough. So it was both financial but also convenience?

- Participant 6:** Yes
- Interviewer: Um, were there any other reasons for the decision to have her twice a week?
- Participant 6:** Just [Inaudible 00:03:15]
- Interviewer: Um, so, what kept you from hiring her more often?
- Participant 6:** Two things...[inaudible 03:26] we've got oldish kids in the home, so we don't want that to overshadow their normal stuff that they need to do.
- Interviewer: Okay, in our previous interview you also mentioned that...
- Participant 6:** [interrupted by cell phone]. Sorry
- Interviewer: No problem. So you mentioned that when your children were younger, you and your ex-wife, um, had a domestic worker who worked for your family full time?
- Participant 6:** Yes.
- Interviewer: And her job was not only to clean but to help your ex-wife with the children?
- Participant 6:** Correct.
- Interviewer: Um, did your wife at the time have a job?
- Participant 6:** No.
- Interviewer: Okay, what tasks did your domestic worker carry out to help with the children?
- Participant 6:** Uh, it was preparing, uh, food or bottle if necessary. i.e. warming the bottle, that kind of stuff, um, to compete with the other kids needs. So, packing lunches when needed. Um, if they coming back from school,

making sure there's lunch for them, that kind of thing, and then supper time, she obviously must make sure the area's clean. If my ex wanted to cook, that was her choice to cook, otherwise sometimes the maid would cook in the afternoon.

Interviewer: Okay, um, so how much do you feel the minimum wage should be for domestic workers?

Participant 6: You're asking a difficult question. That's a difficult question. I think it depends on how often they're working. So if they're working full-time, full-time job, I would say maybe around four to five thousand rand, if it's possible, if it is a full-time job, you know. Um, they do have skills. It's called cleaning skills, or sometimes it's nurturing skills, dependant on the household and what their needs are. Um, we were very blessed with our older domestic worker... and that nurturing factor helped us tremendously. That also guided us a bit, cause we were young so that did help. So, I believe it is... and I think anything from four or five.

Interviewer: Okay, and per day, if working part time?

Participant 6: For part time anything from R250.00 to R300.00 per day. That should give you R300.00 to R1500.00 per week, which is almost R6000.00 a month... If they are able to get that amount of work together, that would be a nice thing for them.

Interviewer: Yes, okay. And would you be willing or able to pay this amount if, um, she was full-time

Participant 6: Yes.

Interviewer: Okay, um, and if the government were to up the minimum wage for domestic workers, how much would be too much for you to keep your domestic worker on?

Participant 6: R400.00

Interviewer: R400.00 would be too much, so anything under that would be...

Participant 6: I think, I also think it's on the consistency. So, um, if it's once a week and you're paying R400.00 that's...then I don't mind that, because she is providing a service. I know she's cleaning windows today, ironing clothes once a week type of thing that's fine. Then you need to make sure that ironed clothes are kept ironed. [laughs]

Interviewer: So, I think I'm asking similar questions, so forgive me for this but what is the maximum amount per day that you'd be willing to pay your domestic worker?

Participant 6: R350.00.

Interviewer: R350.00, okay. Do you think it's easy to find information on the regulations around domestic work in South Africa, like for minimum wage when and if to have a contract, UIF, CCMA, bargaining council...

Participant 6: I think it is pretty easy at the moment is you can just go online for that. It is there I believe, ja.

Interviewer: Okay, do you think that some information is easier to find than other information regarding domestic workers?

Participant 6: No, I think it's all the same.

Interviewer: Okay, and do you have any other comments you'd like to make?

Participant 6: I do... The thing is to try and keep a domestic and I think a lot of it has got to do with, um, thinking of the climate that we're in. Because your disposable income is then, um, geared towards living first and then adding a nicety like or a luxury like a domestic worker. Um, so the availability of certain workers has all of a sudden become a little bit more and that's really based on where we are as a country. Um, and I think, while you are trying to protect the domestic from abuse, there's

nothing protecting the employee, as such, with regards to what happens economically. So, if I had to, um, be retrenched then there would be a huge issue. There is a knock-on effect. Like in normal economics, you know, there's that knock-on effect. So, ja, I just want to make that...
[inaudible 10:15].

Interviewer: Okay, thank you.

Participant 6: Is there anything else from your side?

Interviewer: No, I think that's all.

Participant 6: Do I need to sign anything? Like I did the last time.

Interviewer: No, I think that covers this, um, interview as well.

[Small talk which is not relevant to the research question took place here]

Interviewer: I'm going to switch this off if you don't mind.

Participant 6: No, problem.

Transcript of Interview with Participant 7

| Details | |
|--|------------------------|
| Date | 31/05/2018 |
| Type of Interview | Face to face interview |
| <i>Pseudonyms have been used in this transcript to protect the identity of the participant and his family.</i> | |

Interviewer: Thank you for agreeing to, um, do this interview with me and I just want to stress again that you gonna be anonymous and don't feel compelled to answer anything you're not comfortable with.

Participant 7: Not a problem.

Interviewer: Okay. Um, do you remember having a domestic worker at home as a child?

Participant 7: Yes, I do.

Interviewer: So tell me about your relationship as a child with your domestic worker.

Participant 7: Man, she was basically just a nanny. Um, it wasn't a good experience because she stole from us. Um, she took me to the liquor stores, to buy her fix...and I think I was about four years old and she was fired because she left me alone, when I was four.

Interviewer: Did you have any other domestic workers?

Participant 7: After that, no. After that, I went to go and live with granny.

Interviewer: Did you, was your domestic worker a live-in domestic worker?

Participant 7: No, no she wasn't live-in.

Interviewer: And has your experience of your domestic worker as a child impacted, um, whether you want a domestic worker to work for you today?

Participant 7: No, no that hasn't done anything there.

Interviewer: Okay, so could you tell me a bit about your family? ...Do you stay with anyone? Do you have children?

Participant 7: No children, my mother lives with me, brother in Cape Town, brother in Jo'burg.

Interviewer: Okay, um, could you tell me about your decision not to hire a domestic worker?

Participant 7: For the simple reason it's actually too expensive these days. The new legislation that you have to register them for UIF and that, you know, it's all these extra costs. It's not that I don't want to. I mean if I had the choice I wouldn't want to clean my own house, but, yes, I simply can't afford it.

Interviewer: Even part time?

Participant 7: Even part time.

Interviewer: Okay, was your decision motivated by your personal values in any way?

Participant 7: No.

Interviewer: Okay, so how do you feel about domestic work in general?

Participant 7: I don't think, you know, they need the jobs...Most of them do it because they want to, because they like doing it and it's something to do. It's an income for them. I wouldn't say they like the pay they get with it but yes, most of them that I've spoken to, you know, in my set up of work, they like what they do. They like what they do.

- Interviewer: Okay, so would you ever consider hiring a domestic worker?
- Participant 7:** Yes, if I can afford it, definitely. It's nice to have someone around. I had one actually. It was about two, three months, after my back op [operation]. I had somebody coming in to help because my mom couldn't do everything alone, um, and it was nice just having somebody there. It was nice.
- Interviewer: Was this person hired full time or part time?
- Participant 7:** Part time, part time yes.
- Interviewer: Um, so did she live in your flat while she was there, or did she come in from somewhere else?
- Participant 7:** She came in from, well he actually.
- Interviewer: Oh, he, okay.
- Participant 7:** He. It was a he.
- Interviewer: Oh, okay. I was looking for one of those.
- Participant 7:** Yes, his name was Frank. He was from Malawi, and um, he actually did the housework while his wife looked after the kids. It was awesome. It was amazing and he's a nice guy, but it just became too expensive.
- Interviewer: Mmm.
- Participant 7:** Yeah.
- Interviewer: So while his wife looked after his own kids?
- Participant 7:** Yes, yes.
- Interviewer: Um, so what was his duties?

Participant 7: General cleaning, not the ironing, not washing, I did that. My mom did that, but just general cleaning.

Interviewer: Okay and cooking?

Participant 7: No.

Interviewer: Uh, did he have a contract with you?

Participant 7: No, no I phoned him as I needed him.

Interviewer: Oh okay.

Participant 7: Yes.

Interviewer: So I see because it was part time, you didn't have sick leave and holidays.

Participant 7: No, no.

Interviewer: Any other of the other things like UIF?

Participant 7: No.

Interviewer: So, how many months did he work for you?

Participant 7: He was working for about two months.

Interviewer: Two months.

Participant 7: About two months yes.

Interviewer: Where did you find him?

Participant 7: I actually can't remember to be honest. My mom found him.

Interviewer: Okay.

- Participant 7:** She just said there's this guy. I assume he was walking around in the area, asking people for jobs and she found him.
- Interviewer: Okay, um, have you ever had any other domestic workers work for you personally?
- Participant 7:** No.
- Interviewer: Okay, did you have any problems with your domestic worker while he was working for you?
- Participant 7:** No, none whatsoever, none whatsoever.
- Interviewer: Have you ever had a domestic worker take you to the CCMA? I assume not, because you.
- Participant 7:** No.
- Interviewer: Because he's the only one you've had.
- Participant 7:** He's the only one I've had. Yes, no, there was nothing, nothing like that no.
- Interviewer: Okay and you don't know if your mom hired him through a company?
- Participant 7:** No, it wasn't through a company, definitely not, no.
- Interviewer: Okay, um, do you know what the minimum wage is for domestic workers?
- Participant 7:** I don't know offhand, I paid him two hundred and fifty rand a day.
- Interviewer: Okay, why did you make the decision to pay him that much?
- Participant 7:** I felt he deserved it. He worked hard for it.
- Interviewer: Mmm! So here I've got the minimum wage for 2018. So um, for domestic workers who work twenty seven ordinary hours or less per

week, the hourly rate is R 15.28, the weekly rate is R 412.60 and the monthly rate is R 1787. I don't know how they work those out, they divide them by hours.

Participant 7: Yes, yes, yes.

Interviewer: And then that's what they call.

Participant 7: That's the minimum wage.

Interviewer: For what they call Area A, I think and then Area B, which are, I think they're probably more rural or perhaps like um, well I don't actually know why they've divided them, so you've got Area A and Area B. Area B is even less than that.

Participant 7: It's shocking.

Interviewer: And then you've got for domestic workers who work full time, twenty seven hours per week or more, it's R13.05.

Participant 7: Really, five cents, okay.

Interviewer: The weekly rate is R 587.40 and the monthly rate is R 2,545.22.

Participant 7: And you do what with that money?

Interviewer: Well yeah.

Participant 7: I'm just asking.

Interviewer: So that's.

Participant 7: What are they supposed to do with that money?

Interviewer: That's my next question, is how do you feel about that?

Participant 7: It's shocking...Frank worked for me maximum four hours a day and I paid him two hundred and fifty rand.

- Interviewer: And now they coming out with a minimum wage across the board, so they doing away with these different sectors having their own minimum wages and they having a flat rate, I think it's three and a half thousand rand a month, that will be the minimum wage for everyone, which is another whole process in itself.
- Participant 7:** Yeah, true, what are you supposed to do with that money? Your kid's schooling is more than that, and that is sending your kid to a state school. It's not a private school or semi-private school. How must people afford that?
- Interviewer: So I think a lot of domestic workers now work part time for lots of different people so that they can earn more money than if they work for one person permanently.
- Participant 7:** Yes. I've picked that up, except the ones that's nannies as well. The one's that's nannies as well, obviously they just stick to the one.
- Interviewer: Cause they probably get paid for that as well?
- Participant 7:** Yes.
- Interviewer: So do you know what other benefits and legislation covers domestic workers?
- Participant 7:** No.
- Interviewer: So you've got...so they are obviously considered under the Basic Conditions of Employment Act, which, can you believe it until 2002 they weren't?
- Participant 7:** They weren't?
- Interviewer: No.
- Participant 7:** Oh my word.

Interviewer: And then.

Participant 7: What were they then?

Interviewer: They didn't have anything covering them. But then South Africa, is quite progressive in terms of the way they tried to place domestic workers in 2002 under legislation, because now they under the Basic Conditions of Employment Act, they have their own sectoral determination which gives them their own minimum wage.

Participant 7: Mmm.

Interviewer: And then if they full time, you have to pay them UIF.

Participant 7: Yes.

Interviewer: Pay into the UIF. The Occupational Health and Safety Act covers them and they have the opportunity to go to the CCMA if they are unhappy.

Participant 7: If they are unhappy, yes. Well, that seems fair. That definitely seems fair. I mean they are also working, like I'm working, like you're working. Just, they work not for a company but they work for a person or a family, so why not have those benefits?

Interviewer: That's true. So if you were to, if you had enough money that you were gonna hire someone, how much would you like to pay them?

Participant 7: Well if I think about it, at least, at least six or seven thousand. The cost of living, food, housing, schooling, medical aids or health or anything, they all cost money, nothing comes for free. To me six or seven is just very basic, you know, it will cover them for better housing, things like that.

Interviewer: Okay, um, that went quite quickly.

Participant 7: Are we done?

Interviewer: Ja, but do you feel like there's anything else that you'd like to add?

Participant 7: Not really.

Interviewer: Do you feel like there are any questions that I should have asked that I didn't?

Participant 7: No, you were very from point A to point Z.

Interviewer: So...thank you very much.

Participant 7: It's only a pleasure.

Interviewer: I really appreciate it.

Participant 7: It's only a pleasure. If you need me again, you know where I am.

Interviewer: Thank you.

Transcript of Follow-Up Interview with Participant 7

| Details | |
|--|-------------------------------|
| Date | 07/01/2020 |
| Type of Interview | Questions answered over email |
| <i>Pseudonyms have been used in this transcript to protect the identity of the participant and his family.</i> | |

Interviewer: In our previous interview, you mentioned that you could not afford a domestic worker because you would not be able to pay the person a living wage. Is this desire to pay a living wage motivated by personal, religious, and/or political values? If so, could you please elaborate on these?

Participant 7: To answer your question, it is for personal reasons. I cannot let someone work for me and then still have to go to another job or two so they can make it through the month and feed their families. Growing up, I knew what it was like to have one or both parents work two jobs just to feed me and my two brothers and have a roof over our heads, and for that reason I can't let someone work for me if i can't pay them a salary that they can make a living on.

Transcript of Interview with Participant 8

| Details | |
|--|------------------------|
| Date | 04/06/2018 |
| Type of Interview | Face to face interview |
| <i>Pseudonyms have been used in this transcript to protect the identity of the participant and his family.</i> | |

Interviewer: Um, do you remember having a domestic worker, um, as a child?

Participant 8: Yes, I do remember. But I was born in Zimbabwe. So there, it was more men that worked. Uh, women didn't work, so we always had a man that looked after us on the farm, ja.

Interviewer: Okay and he was like a domestic worker?

Participant 8: Yes.

Interviewer: Okay, um, and tell me a bit about your relationship with him as a child.

Participant 8: He was more of a friend. He was part of the family with us all, ja.

Interviewer: And was he a live-in domestic worker?

Participant 8: Yes.

Interviewer: Okay and was your experience of domestic work, I think I'm asking the wrong questions, no, not sorry [laughter]

Participant 8: [Laughter]

Interviewer: Has your experience with your domestic worker as a child impacted whether you want a domestic worker to work for you today?

Participant 8: I can't answer for today because we're not in a, in a position to have a domestic worker now, but, I did. I mean when we lived in Johannesburg, we had domestic workers working for us.

Interviewer: Okay, so could you tell me a little bit about your family? Do you stay with anyone? Do you have children?

Participant 8: Yes, we have three grown up children. We don't live with any of them. We live in our daughter's flat. She bought for us down here in Cape Town.

Interviewer: Okay, so all your children are...adults now?

Participant 8: Ja

Interviewer: Um, when they were younger, did you have anyone look after them?

Participant 8: Yes, we did. We had domestic workers, ja.

Interviewer: And they looked after your children?

Participant 8: Yes.

Interviewer: So could you tell me about your decision not to hire a domestic worker.

Participant 8: Well...with living in such a time and place and the children all grown up, we, we're fine.

Interviewer: Okay, um and I know that, um, legislation around domestic workers has changed over the years. Did that impact; did that impact your decision in any way, not to have domestic workers?

Participant 8: No.

Interviewer: Okay.

Participant 8: No.

Interviewer: Would you and I think you've said that you did consider hiring and you did have domestic workers in the past.

- Participant 8:** Mmm [yes]
- Interviewer: How many, can you remember approximately how many you've had work for you?
- Participant 8:** Full time?
- Interviewer: Mmm and part time.
- Participant 8:** Um, full time there's only two that come to my mind. There was, uh, one. Her name was Sarah. She worked for us for many, many years. And the other one was Joice. She also worked for us for a very long time and they were the two that helped bring up the children.
- Interviewer: Okay and can you remember why, um, they stopped working for you?
- Participant 8:** The one, both of them had to go home. Back to the homelands to look after their parents, so it wasn't us getting rid of them. It was their choice. They had to go home.
- Interviewer: Okay and when, when you had them working for you, did you have contracts, like written contracts with them?
- Participant 8:** I never felt it necessary...and in those days there weren't contracts, but if there were, we wouldn't have. They were part of our family.
- Interviewer: So can you remember what dates they were, like how far back that was?
- Participant 8:** Um, it was from about 1973 right through till about 2010.
- Interviewer: Okay.
- Participant 8:** Ja.
- Interviewer: Um, and were they South African citizens?
- Participant 8:** Yes, they were both South African.

- Interviewer: So what kind of duties did they do?
- Participant 8:** Um, well, they helped clean the house. They did the, they ran the home for us. They brought the kids up. They were part of our family.
- Interviewer: Okay, um, did they get things like sick leave, paid sick leave and holidays?
- Participant 8:** Yes, yes.
- Interviewer: So even though you didn't have a contract you still...
- Participant 8:** No, they still got that.
- Interviewer: And um, unemployment benefits, did you need to pay UIF at that time?
- Participant 8:** No, I don't think it was passed then, but when they both left, we gave them like a package to say thank you. We'd help them build their houses in the homelands, the car that we gave the one, so I think we treated them very well. We ate together. It was a family.
- Interviewer: Mmm [yes], so like payment in kind, not just money.
- Participant 8:** Ja
- Interviewer: So was that package like a pension or was that just something you put together for them.
- Participant 8:** It was just, it was money that we put aside so that if ever they left, they could have like a pension, cause in those days there was no pension or anything. You know it was very different to now.
- Interviewer: Ja, ja, and do you remember how much you paid them?
- Participant 8:** It was well over what the going rates were...We were very fair with them. We gave them their wages. They got clothing and food. They never needed for anything and we never ever separated them, like they had to use their own things and we had ours. No, we used to share the

whole house together and I think one of them...actually lived in the house with us, ja. So she was really part of the family.

Interviewer: And was...that, the way you treated your domestic workers impacted by your experience as a child?

Participant 8: Ja, because being brought up on the farm, it was very different, you know, my friends were black. And we just all grew up as a family. We were very big...We had a big family of brothers and sisters, but...everybody was included in that family.

Interviewer: That's nice, um so I imagine they were both live-in then?

Participant 8: Yes.

Interviewer: And how did you come to hire them?

Participant 8: Because I had to go to work, I had to go back to work and ja. That's why, it was just too hard with the kids because then there weren't so many crèches and that, and it was way better to keep your kids at home, you know, and I felt better for that.

Interviewer: Okay, um and did you ever have like part time domestic workers work for you?

Participant 8: Yes, we had, down here we've had one or two that have come in like once a week, or once every two weeks to help with windows and just give a good general clean.

Interviewer: And do you still have that?

Participant 8: No.

Interviewer: No.

Participant 8: No, no.

Interviewer: And did you have contracts with those?

- Participant 8:** No.
- Interviewer: And how many days a week would they work?
- Participant 8:** It was just once. It was either once a week, or once every two weeks.
- Interviewer: Okay, um, so, have you ever had a domestic worker go to the CCMA?
- Participant 8:** No, never, okay.
- Interviewer: Um and have you ever hired a domestic worker through a company?
- Participant 8:** No.
- Interviewer: Do you know what the minimum wage is for domestic workers currently?
- Participant 8:** No, today I don't know, but we, I remember we used to pay them, but we haven't had a domestic worker for about two years now. I think we used to pay them like R350 for the day and they had to go home early because they had been travelling from the farm, ja.
- Interviewer: Okay, so I can tell you what it is, for a full time domestic worker, who works twenty seven hours per week or more, the hourly rate for urban areas is R13.05, the weekly rate is R587.40 and the monthly rate is R2 547, ja. And then obviously non-urban areas are even less, so for part time domestic workers, the hourly rate would be R15.28, the weekly rate would be R412.60 and the monthly rate would be R1 787.80.
- Participant 8:** That's little man!
- Interviewer: Ja, it's very little.
- Participant 8:** You see, with that ladies we had helping us here, they had breakfast, they could have lunch and they could have tea and coffee whenever they wanted and then a lot of the times they would go home with food

in the evening, because I've always looked at them as, they humans like us. You can't you know, I can't do that to someone.

Interviewer: And so you paid them around R350.

Participant 8: Ja, about R350.

Interviewer: Um, do you know what other legislation covers domestic workers today?

Participant 8: No, not really.

Interviewer: ...If you have a domestic worker working full-time you're supposed to pay into the UIF, which is the Unemployment.

Participant 8: Fund?

Interviewer: Fund yeah and then they have the Occupational Health and Safety Act covering them for any injuries that happens to them, so that's the kind of legislation that covers them today.

Participant 8: Mmm.

Interviewer: How do you feel about that?

Participant 8: Well, I think they need that, but I'm still shocked at how much they earn.

Interviewer: It's very low, but now with the new minimum wage coming out, they want to, the government wants there to be a flat rate across all sectors. So beforehand, depending on what sector you were in, you would have different minimum wages and now they want one flat one to cover everybody and I think it's going to be three and a half thousand rand, which is also still very low.

Participant 8: Yeah. I must say with them, if ever they were ill, or their families, a lot of them had their kids stay with them and if any of them were ill we

would cover. We never, you know, not covered paying the bills and that. Or we'd take them to hospital and if they were booked in, we'd go see them every day, so you know, so in a way they had like a medical aid. They didn't really have to worry.

Interviewer: Ja, that's wonderful. Those are all my questions that I had for you, but I don't know if you feel like adding anything?

Participant 8: I just think from what I see around with other people, a lot of them are very badly treated. You know, some of them work and they get told to work part-time and they told they getting paid at the end of the month. When they arrive there the person is either gone or has some excuse to pay them and they battle to get their wages out of the people and it's just, it shocks me the way some people treat their domestic workers, what they expect them to do. You know, it really, it does upset me honestly because I've always had the thought, I can't expect somebody else to do the things that I can't do. I've always done what they do, you know. I've never given them awful jobs that I wouldn't do. You know, I've always tried to treat them well, because they are human beings like us, they have feelings, they have...

Interviewer: Ja, and do you think I've maybe missed a question that you feel I should've asked you?

Participant 8: No, I don't think so, no...I think...when you've been brought up, uh, knowing their customs and their ways and all that, I understand that. What I find now is a lot of people don't understand, you know, their customs, their ways, like they have to go home certain times of the year or every so often to do traditional things and a lot of people won't let them go off, and that is very important to them, to their lives and also if they ill, those people expect them to [inaudible 15:15] whether they ill or not, and there's also time, people don't realise they have taxis, they have trains they have buses to catch, they don't keep on time and the queues are so long, but they find their way there and then they get shouted at or they get so many hours deducted. I think that's very

unfair, and where they live in like Khayelitsha, Guguletu or wherever, there's always problems and sometimes they just can't get to work and people aren't understanding of that, you know. Recently all the taxi violence and sometimes they lose their jobs because they haven't been able to get there...No, I do, I feel for them, to tell you the truth, I've been a domestic worker. When we first came down here, we had nothing, and I used to go and work in a block of flats. There were two flats and I used to go clean every week. So I know. People haven't got washing machines. You're supposed to do that by hand and try get washing dry in one day, clean everything, tidy everything, and you're tired, and for that I was only paid R150 a day, and that was about five years ago. You'll be surprised now little some of them earn.

Interviewer: Do you have any other words of wisdom, having actually worked as one?

Participant 8: Yes, I think people that live in their homes don't even care how they leave it, in what state they leave it. They just expect you to walk in and clean up, you know. And some of the things you find are such [inaudible].

Interviewer: Well thank you. That was very, very helpful. I really appreciate it.

Participant 8: Was I really helpful?

Interviewer: Yes, you really were.

Participant 8: No, but that is my honest feedback.

Interviewer: Mmm, thank you so much.

Transcript of Interview with Participant 9

| Details | |
|--|------------------------|
| Date | 05/06/2018 |
| Type of Interview | Face to face interview |
| <i>Pseudonyms have been used in this transcript to protect the identity of the participant and his family.</i> | |

Interviewer: So thank you again for agreeing to have this interview with me.

Participant 9: Okay.

Interviewer: Um, do you remember having a domestic worker at home as a child?

Participant 9: Yes, yes, yes.

Interviewer: So could you tell me a bit about the relationship that you had with your domestic worker?

Participant 9: So, I mean, so there were many, at different times. I grew up in Durban. So, for a while, I mean our domestic workers were local, African women, and I don't remember them playing a mother role to me, as my grandmother did, but I remember them with great fondness, and being part of, you know, everyday life, and them paying a lot of attention to me and playing with me, and so on, so yes, positive memories, that far back, and then I suppose at a slightly later point in life, when I was still a child at home, and we employed, I think it was two Indian ladies, um and also absolutely lovely, lovely women, um, and I do remember the sort of, the sense of, you know, concern that they lived on the property, in a remote little worker's accommodation somewhere, ja. So I remember being very concerned that they were kept on the property but outside of the you know, in really not great accommodation.

Interviewer: Mmm.

- Participant 9:** Ja.
- Interviewer: So you had a few different domestic workers staying on the property as a child?
- Participant 9:** Well, at different points in time. Uh, we moved around quite a bit – Durban, Maritzburg, Pinetown...
- Interviewer: Okay, has your experience of domestic workers as a child impacted whether you want a domestic worker to work for you today or throughout your life?
- Participant 9:** Uh, not really. I have nobody working for me at the moment. I do all my own domestic work. I live on my own so it's very easy to do, but certainly when my twins were born, which was 1989, um, I then, it was very important for me, cause I was working at the same time. Then I had the twins and went straight back to work. So I employed, there were two different domestic workers doing different shifts for a while, ja.
- Interviewer: Okay and, um, did your experiences as a child impact your relationship or what you looked for in domestic workers in any way?
- Participant 9:** No, I think it was just I was looking for very different things. By the time I had my twins I was looking for women who...you know, could relate well to, you know, babies and to small children, so yeah.
- Interviewer: Okay, um, could you tell me a little bit about your family, so you said you're living alone and that you have two twins and that's why you hired some domestic workers.
- Participant 9:** No, living alone now.
- Interviewer: Ja, but in the past.
- Participant 9:** In the past I was living with my partner and he was working and I was at UCT, so I took about four weeks as maternity leave and then came

straight back to work, and I employed two women to, one was doing the cleaning and ironing and the other was doing more child care.

Interviewer: Okay, um, could you tell me about your decision to not hire a domestic worker currently - a little bit about why that is.

Participant 9: Because I'm, I live on my own, I can do my own domestic work very easily and I just prefer it that way. I'm away a lot, so often my house is just locked up and left and to have to manage a relationship with somebody who's, you know, coming and going, I would rather just not have that.

Interviewer: Okay, was your decision also motivated by personal values in any way or just, um, your lifestyle?

Participant 9: Lifestyle, currently, not to have a domestic worker. I must say, before my twins were born, I lived in a communal house and there were six or seven of us and we shared the domestic work and it was also a sense of...we need to do our own work.

Interviewer: Okay, um, how do you feel about domestic work in general in South Africa?

Participant 9: I think it's...there's lots of exploitation and often difficult conditions and poor wages, and...I'm sure it's a very hard life for domestic workers, ja. The demands are huge.

Interviewer: Would you ever consider hiring a domestic worker in the future?

Participant 9: Not unless I was, um, incapacitated in some way. If I was confined to a wheelchair or couldn't move or was ill or something like that, then I would.

Interviewer: Okay, um, so you've mentioned that you've had two domestic workers when you had your twins, have you had any other domestic workers work for you personally in the past?

- Participant 9:** Well since 1989, both those women stayed with me, until in 2008, my children...then left home and I moved to Hout Bay, started living on my own and my ex-partner then continued to employ the two of them and then for reasons which he would have to explain, he then shifted to employ a Malawian man to work for him.
- Interviewer: Okay. I always, I find it interesting when people talk about male domestic workers [laughter].
- Participant 9:** [Laughter]
- Interviewer: Um, so, were any of your domestic workers male?
- Participant 9:** No.
- Interviewer: No. Um, did any of these domestic workers live on your property?
- Participant 9:** No.
- Interviewer: Were they South African citizens?
- Participant 9:** Yes.
- Interviewer: They were. Do you have a preference for South African citizens?
- Participant 9:** No, would be a personal...
- Interviewer: Um, do you know if they were part of a union?
- Participant 9:** I would have known if they had been and they weren't.
- Interviewer: Okay, um what were their duties?
- Participant 9:** They changed over time. When I first employed them, one was...child care all the time and twins, babies, I mean is...and the other one was...ironing and cleaning and everything else.
- Interviewer: Okay, and cooking?

Participant 9: Um, a little bit, ja...

Interviewer: Okay, um, so were they hired full time or part time at that stage.

Participant 9: They were, they were both, slightly part time, um, but I mean...every day of the week, five days of the week I would have somebody there.

Interviewer: Oh okay.

Participant 9: One of the people I hired wanted to only work four days a week. She wanted to look after her family and other things, to get other things done on one day a week and the second person I think wanted to work three days a week because she had another job where she was.

Interviewer: Okay, um did you have a written contract with your domestic workers?

Participant 9: Yes, written contracts and pensions, um, ja.

Interviewer: And UIF?

Participant 9: UIF.

Interviewer: All that stuff, sick leave, holidays.

Participant 9: Ja, ja

Interviewer: Okay, um, have you ever had a domestic worker go to the CCMA?

Participant 9: No.

Interviewer: Bad experiences?

Participant 9: No, never.

Interviewer: No, um and have you ever hired a domestic worker through a company?

Participant 9: No. It was all through social networks.

- Interviewer: Mmm. Do you remember how much you paid them?
- Participant 9:** Gosh, look, it varied, it went up, it was an annual increase. Um, I would battle to remember. I mean by 2008...one of them was working four days a week and I think that was about three and a half thousand rand a month, and the other one had cut her time, to about two days a week and that was a daily, a daily rate.
- Interviewer: Do you know how much the minimum wage is currently?
- Participant 9:** I haven't checked it for quite a while, ja.
- Interviewer: You don't have a domestic worker, so.
- Participant 9:** Ja
- Interviewer: I can tell you though, so for domestic workers who work full time, so more than twenty seven ordinary hours a week, the hourly rate, they've got, they've separated like, they've got Area A and then Area B, so Area A is more and Area B is less. So for Area A, is R13.05 per hour, weekly rate is R 587.40 and monthly rate is R 2 545.22 and then the part time work is obviously less as well.
- Participant 9:** Ja, that's incredibly low.
- Interviewer: Mmm, so you were saying you feel that domestic workers are often exploited. Do you think that this is may be part of the problem, the minimum wage?
- Participant 9:** Oh...I don't know how many people know what the minimum wage is and I imagine people pay what they can get away with. Um, and if employees complain then it's very easy to dismiss and rehire. It's a very insecure job.
- Interviewer: Ja. Okay do you know what other legislation covers domestic workers?
- Participant 9:** UIF, pension, um, I'm sure it's changed since 2008, so.

Interviewer: So, until 2002, they weren't actually considered under the Basic Conditions of Employment Act but they were included after 2002 and then you're right, the UIA and Occupational Health and Safety Act, but pension is not actually, um, a requirement, and then obviously the CCMA, and...how do you feel about those legislations?

Participant 9: Well, I mean it's really important that, you know, that kind of legislation exists to support workers...It's just very easy for employers to avoid those kinds of limitations...and domestic workers are in a very vulnerable position if they want to counter that. I mean often any job is better than nothing. Um, it's an incredibly difficult job.

Interviewer: So if you were to have a domestic worker work for you full time, how much would you pay them?

Participant 9: Well, I would certainly, I mean we were paying above the minimum wage ten years ago and one would have to certainly think what is, what can a woman and her family live on. That's I mean, you have to think of it that way.

Interviewer: Ja, okay, let me see, I think that those are all my questions. Um, is there anything you would like to add?

Participant 9: Not at this point.

Interviewer: And do you feel like there's any questions that I should have asked that I haven't asked you?

Participant 9: I suppose you could have asked about hours. You could have asked about transport costs, because...I mean, very frequently domestic workers come from very far away, we're talking about planning [inaudible 13:09] and transport costs can be up to twenty five, thirty percent of a person's wage, so there's the minimum wage but you know transport costs in South African cities take up a huge percentage of that. Um, not only costs, but effort, getting up at four in the morning and getting home late at night, what that does to families. You know, domestic

workers who are required to stay on and prepare supper and leave late and um, it's more than just wages. It's all those other conditions.

Interviewer: Then may I ask, what the hours were for your domestic workers at that time?

Participant 9: Um, it was usually from about half past eight, nine o' clock in the morning, till about four.

Interviewer: Okay and when you paid them, you took transport into consideration then?

Participant 9: Well we, it was a case of one was thinking about all the different costs that, you know, that they would have to survive on, ja.

Interviewer: Mmm, and did you pay them in kind with anything as well.

Participant 9: It was cash, monthly cash, but...certainly there was, you know, I mean...certainly food was shared and there was always a possibility of sharing food and...furniture that one no longer wanted or appliances that one, you know, I mean there was always that kind of redistribution when one could, ja.

Interviewer: Okay, well thank you very much, I appreciate your time.

Participant 9: It's a pleasure, pleasure.

Interviewer: Thank you.

Transcript of Follow-Up Interview with Participant 9

| Details | |
|--|-------------------------------|
| Date | 08/01/2020 |
| Type of Interview | Questions answered over email |
| <i>Pseudonyms have been used in this transcript to protect the identity of the participant and his family.</i> | |

Interviewer: In our previous interview, you explained that when your twins were born, you decided to hire two part-time domestic workers. Could you please elaborate on why you chose to hire two part-time domestic workers instead of one full-time domestic worker?

Participant 7: Both already had part time jobs elsewhere - one for just one day a week elsewhere and I hired her for the other four days. The second had two days elsewhere and I hired her for the other three days. It meant I had someone at home all days of the week.

Transcript of First Interview with Participant 10

| Details | |
|--|------------------------|
| Date | 09/06/2018 |
| Type of Interview | Face to face interview |
| <i>Pseudonyms have been used in this transcript to protect the identity of the participant and his family.</i> | |

Interviewer: Do you remember having a domestic worker at home as a child?

Participant 10: No, as a child, when I grew up, no we didn't have.

Interviewer: Did your own work?

Participant 10: Ja, we had a small house. We were four in our family...so we didn't, my father didn't afford...we were poor actually, so we didn't afford that.

Interviewer: Um, where were you staying when you were a child?

Participant 10: In Zimbabwe, Harare, ja.

Interviewer: And that's where you're originally from?

Participant 10: Yes.

Interviewer: Okay, could you tell me a bit about your family?

Participant 10: I'm a first born in a family of four. Um, so we grew up in a high-density area – very poverty-stricken area. Uh, the house they [were] very small. I think they were built by the government then. So, my parents couldn't afford to extend the house, so we were staying there. So...I'm the first born, and the second born is a girl, she's a woman now, and then the third was the boy and then the fourth one was born

ninety-two [1992] – is a girl, is a woman also now. So, that's how we grew up – very high-density area...in a dusty street. So...that's what I can say about my family. My father was working. My mother was not working. It was normal. I think almost every woman where I come from doesn't go to work. It's a problem, but it doesn't matter. So, yes...that's how I grew up, ja.

Interviewer: Okay, and today do you stay with anyone? What's your family like today?

Participant 10: Now I have my wife and we have two kids, two children actually. So, a boy of eight years old and, uh, my daughter's turning two in July. Uh...we stay with, we can call her a domestic worker, but we are kind of related with that lady... I can't call her a domestic, but she, she is there for that.

Interviewer: So, she stays with you?

Participant 10: Yes, yes, yes.

Interviewer: Um, does she look after your children?

Participant 10: Yes. Because my son goes to school, so my son goes during... From Monday to Friday, my son goes quarter to eight. There's transport to take him and then he comes back around ten past six or quarter past six, cause he goes, then there's aftercare. So, that's since, since he was four years he was doing that. So, he's in grade two now, ja.

Interviewer: Um, so, tell me how you came to hire your current domestic worker?

Participant 10: Uh, we had to. My wife goes to work, and I work, uh, so the times in terms of, who do we leave the baby with? So, that's a problem...because my...daughter's too young. But if she turns two...we can get someone, we can...send her to a crèche. But till the logistics of, um, arranging who's going to drop her, who's going to collect her...Sometimes I finish late or sometimes my wife finishes

late at work, so...and then they require to collect, uh, a child around five from creche, of which sometimes we are not there. So, it's a challenge for us to do that. So, that's the reason, plus, um, sometimes, not tired, but we need help in terms of just preparing. We, we cook almost every day. So, so she looks after plus she helps us to cook, although we can, but, but that's the reason because my, my mother passed on and then my mother in-law is a little bit far. She's in Zimbabwe. We cannot send...but with my son, we did send him to...Zimbabwe when he was almost two years. We thought he's gonna...stay there for a year, but it ended up being two years. And then we took him again because my mother was there. So that was in Zimbabwe. But, now this time, we couldn't do that because, um, my...mother in-law is seventy-two, so we didn't want to burden her. So, we decided to rather take someone we know instead, so that's, that's how we decided because, because we want both to be comfortable in terms of our work. So, that's...the reason why we took someone. We stay... so, we stay with the person. So that, ja...she's part of our family, ja, kind of.

Interviewer: Um, and where did you hear about her?

Participant 10: About who?

Interviewer: Um, the domestic worker? Is she a female?

Participant 10: Yes, it's a female. Uh, actually, we had another, this is our third one.

Interviewer: Okay.

Participant 10: The first one was referred. They all come from Zimbabwe. We don't take a stranger, because in Cape Town people do strange things, you know – a lot of stories. So, the first one was referred by, um, my mother in-law. So she came from Zimbabwe, and then we stayed with her, then her aunt had problems. I think she had cancer or something. The aunt was diagnosed with cancer, so she had to go back to look

after...that aunt. So, then we took another one who was referred by my sister. So, she came from rural Zimbabwe, and then...she stayed in town as well...But she had separated from her husband, kind of boyfriend or something, and then she stayed with us for like three/four months, and then she decided to go back to her husband. I think she was single. I think she was broke when she came, because she just wanted to raise some money. And then now, we realised that we cannot continue to taking people we don't know. So, we took, uh, kind of our relative who was not doing anything to come and stay with us, in that kind of manner...So that's how we ended up having the one we have.

Interviewer: Okay, so she's a relative to you?

Participant 10: Yes, I can say.

Interviewer: Okay. Um, and what types of duties does she do? She helps with the children and with the cooking?

Participant 10: I do not call them duties per say, but she's staying with us. So, we just, like for example, I do washing with a washing machine, I like... not I like, I always do the washing. So, she does the ironing and their room. She doesn't touch our room. Our room we do on our own – my bedroom. So, we have two...bedrooms. So she makes sure their room is fine with the kids, and then when my son is going to school. But when I wake up I make...my son, like, cornflakes in the morning. So I do that before I go to work. But, if she wakes up before me, she can do that and then we both leave, me and my wife. She's the one who is at home with our daughter. That's, I think that's the main thing that she does.

Interviewer: So, there aren't really specific duties? It's more like she's just part of the household?

Participant 10: No, there are no specific, even the three of them from the first one. We had them stay with us to help us, uh, especially look after our daughter. That was the main thing. My son is fine, I can do whatever I...can, but if they can help out with her. So, they stay like part of our family.

Interviewer: And, how long has she been with you now?

Participant 10: Six months. So, in total, we have had, uh, a domestic, I don't know, can I call it a maid or helper, since my daughter was born. So that...was July 2016. Uh, so we started having one in ja, I think July or August, ja around there...So, it's almost a year now we have been using a domestic, maid or a helper. So, this one's been... came in, um, January. Yes, January...So, now we are...in July. So it's like six months. ... But I think she's going to go back in December, because she wants to go back to school.

Interviewer: So, is she also from Zimbabwe?

Participant 10: Yes.

Interviewer: And you and your wife... both from Zimbabwe?

Participant 10: Yes.

Interviewer: And your kids? Are they like half Zimbabwean, half South African?

Participant 10: No, we are Zimbabweans. We are fully Zimbabweans, although they were born here. My daughter has never been to Zimbabwe, I think next year we're going to go – December I think. But, my son has been to Zim, although language wise, my son cannot speak my language...but we are Zimbabweans.

Interviewer: Um, so you've answered a few of my questions already. Um, so, do you have specific hours that she works?

Participant 10 No, like what I said is, we stay as...family. But, her main duty's just to look after our daughter, that's if we are not there – just to change the

nappy and...make sure that my daughter eats and ja, all that...Me, I do my thing. My wife does whatever she do, and if we are not there – my wife works weekends. My weekends, I'm there. Like today...I delayed coming because she [the daughter] was clinging on me, so ja. So, she was just doing her stuff, our...maid, and I was sitting in front. So, I play with the kids weekends...so no hours. They sleep whatever time they want. But, even in winter we told them, don't wake earlier because it's cold, so...I can do whatever I do with my son before I leave for work, so that she can wake them at past seven or whatever time, so that she doesn't wake up our daughter early. So, if they wake earlier, it will be a problem. So they can wake up any time they want, even sleep as long as you are done eating, they can go to sleep and even watch the TV in their room. So, there are no hours.

Interviewer: Okay, um, do you have um, a daily or a monthly rate that you pay her?

Participant 10: Yes, monthly. I know...I don't know what...we're not supposed... According to my culture and the nature of our relationship, we are not supposed to pay her, but what we want to do, um, we want to help her raise money to go back to school. Ja, so that's why we took her. We had a lot of choices, so we could take from anyone, but we took her because she wants to go back to school. So...in my culture I can't pay her formally otherwise...She's from my mother's side, actually. She's coming to help us, but she's...we can call her a maid, but just technical like that. But if we pay, there's a kind of silent, grey, red, that goes around amongst Zimbabweans and friends who employ people. So, ja we pay her monthly, but we're not giving it now because she said she doesn't ... she uses whatever we use, she's family. So, we are going to give her money to go back to school.

Interviewer: So, the money you pay her is actually the money that you're raising for her to go back to school?

Participant 10: Yes, yes. She doesn't need anything. We buy her clothes. Even the previous one, she was staying with us. We were giving her. She was

sending, she had two kids, so she was sending back home to her kids. So, the previous one was quite mature, she was married before, so she wanted the money to raise her children.

Interviewer: And are you comfortable telling me how much? You don't have to.

Participant 10: Ja, I don't know where the rent come from so, so the rent, I don't know where it comes from, so around two point two, two point three because we stay with her. She doesn't use anything of hers.

Interviewer: So, are you staying in her place or she's staying with you?

Participant 10: Sorry, you are saying?

Interviewer: Are you staying in her place or is she staying with you?

Participant 10: She's staying with us.

Interviewer: Oh, okay, I see.

Participant 10: She's staying with us. She came...we have a two-bedroom house, so she's staying with us. So, she use whatever we use, she eat whatever we eat...yes. So, the money is hers, nothing else, ja.

Interviewer: Okay. So, um, a lot of these questions are based on like the South African... culture of how we employ domestic workers. So, that's why a lot of them don't seem to make sense.

Participant 10: Okay. No, no it's fine. I think the culture...maybe you can say maybe, among black people and among white people. But...Zimbabwean culture and South African culture amongst the black people is the same. So, I don't think they are far from whatever, but some people don't stay with...but the reason why people with, because the nature of the jobs they are doing. So, as you see, most Zimbabweans, they work in restaurants, so that's why they have to stay with or maybe they are renting a flat, so they have, they are forced to stay with. Or the person they're employing doesn't want to stay far because maybe they want to

want up early in the morning, so they want to avoid the transport, or the person because of the salary is less if you stay somewhere else, they can at least be [inaudible]... So, rather stay with them, so they can save rent, they can also save on whatever they may want to buy, so that's the reason. I know, even our South African friends, they stay with them.

Interviewer: So, a lot of the people of the people I've interviewed treat domestic work more like an employment relationship, although a lot of people don't have contracts, so perhaps it is a cultural thing between like black South Africans and white South Africans, the way domestic workers are treated?

Participant 10: Ja, I, I would like to think like that. Uh, in terms of, um, that formal relationships, I believe that, I even told my wife that if we...do that, this person is raising our child, they can leave and that's easy, they can leave so we...don't want to have that situation whereby we bounce people every time. We end up staying with strangers in the house. There are a lot of cases were people end up stealing from, they disappear, they run back home, so...we rather take someone that's family than to have a formal relationship. Like okay, eight o'clock, nine o'clock sleep, wake up, let's do this. No we rather not do that.

Interviewer: Okay. Um, so, do you know what the minimum wage is for domestic workers in general in South Africa?

Participant 10: Yes, heard, but it's now their ... I think it's two point two or two point, something I heard recently, I'm not sure. It was increased but...

Interviewer: It was increased, but it's still quite low.

Participant 10: Ja, it's too low, I checked that.

Interviewer: For domestic workers who work fulltime, the monthly rate is two and a half.

Participant 10: Where do they stay? If they stay where?

Interviewer: It doesn't say where.

Participant 10: Yes, yes, so I think we pay high because...

Interviewer: So, I think a lot of people have like either payment in kind relationships, where it's not just money.

Participant 10: Yes.

Interviewer: There's other things as well.

Participant 10: Yes.

Interviewer: But, then you get a lot of people who will have a domestic worker work for them, but it's more of a formal relationship.

Participant 10: Yes, we have relatives who work as domestic workers somewhere else. So, so they are paid as... They don't call them like that, it's technical, they say they are being chars. So, they are being paid for the day, R200.00, some pay R300.00, that's the highest... We have a lot of relatives who work as domestic workers. They will never work for us because we don't pay as much. For us...as in other black people, we rather stay with the person, give them two thousand two hundred. They use everything of ours, so there's a cost, if you check our groceries. It's...more if we have, compared to if we don't have that person, plus we are helping another person. And then also, the advantage that, they are not moving around – it helps us. They are always there in terms of maybe if I'm rushing out early or if I'm coming later or something like that. So, of all our friends that I know that have domestics...they do it like that. Although they can be off weekends, they do that. Some people would like to go to church, so that's the... ja, that's the, ja.

Interviewer: Okay, and do you know what other legislation covers domestic workers?

Participant 10: Yes, I know, like that's why I'm saying the word is very technical where some people call her maid, some people call her a helper, that's why some people say chars. They're running away from that, from that condition. I know we must pay for UIF, I know all that. So, like what I said in the beginning, she's our domestic worker but, the reason we took her out of other, we want to help her. And a lot of, if you check, all domestic Zimbabwean workers that come, things are tough back home, so they'll rather get that two thousand five hundred, and there will be a family.

Interviewer: If she is a Zimbabwean citizen, then I don't think you can pay UIF anyway.

Participant 10: You do.

Interviewer: Do you?

Participant 10: Ja, we pay.

Interviewer: I heard from someone that you don't have to pay.

Participant 10: Now we, like I'm a Zimbabwean...I pay UIF. My wife's Zimbabwean, she pays UIF. She was even on maternity leave. She got the payment. If you have, if you have a permit, but if you don't have, no it doesn't, it's a waste of time. So, most of them, they are not legally here.

Interviewer: Oh, okay. And that's the problem. And so, other than that, the Occupational Health and Safety Act also covers...

Participant 10: Like what I've said, technicality ... she says with us as family, we do the same thing. So, otherwise the occupational health can also cover us, we do the same things.

Interviewer: I think it's very interesting, domestic work, because there's a fine line between like, the employment relationship and the domestic worker being part of the family.

Participant 10: Yes, yes...There's a sister of mine, black sister struggling. Therefore I...applied for a passport, my wife went off, I used my \$300 – US dollars – to get an emergency passport, so that she comes here to work as a maid. So I'm asking around for her. So...the conditions sometimes, so maybe some people are taking advantage, but also with advantage, if we stay with someone as family and we use the same things, I don't see the reason, but I support the legality of around things, but if people try to do that, I think some of them are going to lose jobs. But now you can call them as chars. Like if this one goes back, I'm going to take someone for two days, every day, but now we need someone we trust...One of our friends, they took everything, they left. So, let's say they come seven o'clock and then when we arrive, as soon as we arrive, they...leave. So that would be hourly...but now I don't say they're working for me, they're just coming to help us. I'll give you R200.00, maybe.

Interviewer: So, the, so the more formal relationship, you would call that person a char, instead of domestic worker?

Participant 10: No, the char is not formal.

Interviewer: Oh, the char is less formal.

Participant 10: It's less, that's why if you ask...There's a lot of our...Zimbabwean people, they say we are here as in chars, they say they are there Wednesday to help, Sunday to go and help. And then like that, go and clean the windows, and then you leave, you get your money that day or they give you at the end of the week. For others they will give you...But it's like that. It's technical like that...if you're a char, there's a task you do and then you leave – no hours. Just come and clean the windows on Mondays and then you go. Or like for us, maybe my wife will maybe need help to iron, washing, we have a washing machine, I do that. So, maybe someone to come and iron clothes for the week, we do only do washing once a week. So, maybe to do that, so you can call it...yes it's technical. So, maybe that's why you have a problem,

people are getting away, maybe getting away, I can use another word, but that's the nature of what's happening.

Interviewer: Okay... Do you know if any of your helpers are a part of unions?

Participant 10: No, I don't know. This...ja, difficult question. None, for me, even with our previous two ones. I don't think if they even know. I...think the government, it's good, they're trying to formalise this, but I think they're trying to formalise things that cannot be formalised. That's a problem, I think so. Where do you get the money to pay for a union? And... ja, it's very technical, ja. Even, regardless of black or white employers, you can remove the word employer if you want to. So, so I think it's technical. Who wants to pay a union for... ja. There are different conditions we have, every household and then, like what you said before, some people pay in kind. I know of people in December, they get a lot of stuff from their...Like us, we used to previously buy a ticket or once we bought her a phone even. Something like that. Or if you have clothes, she had young children, if my son outgrows clothes, we don't have anywhere to put the clothes, we could give to her. So it's like that.

Interviewer: I think part of the reason the government tried to formalise domestic work in South Africa specifically, is because of our history.

Participant 10: Yes, yes, yes.

Interviewer: Because in the past, domestic workers were very exploited because our history.

Participant 10: Yes.

Interviewer: But it is still difficult because, um, it's somebody working inside of your home...

Participant 10: Yes, and then also to make it difficult, what about black, black? A black domestic worker and a black employer, they are... Okay, I'm not

saying I'm a better black person, but there are other black people who are becoming like other, so those relationships also, they... That's, that's why most people are taking foreigners, taking advantage, but sometimes I think they are helping people in comparison to using the word 'taking advantage'. They helping a lot of families that, I know of a lot of... my sister in-law, my brother's wife, she do these chars, so she gets R250.00...it's a lot...R4000.00 a month for her. I think she, she doesn't have a lot of skills to go to work, or something like that. So, I think she's being helped. So she goes there to do whatever and then she leaves. Sometimes she doesn't even see the people she's working for. So, it's ja, it's tricky. So, I think the problem is that, the word domestic worker, maid, helper, so there's a grey area around that. That's why in the beginning I said, I wouldn't want to call, I never use those words, like that word, 'our domestic worker'. So, it's... to me it's a, but it's a word. But it sounds, I feel like degrading. I never...use the word maid. I don't use that word. I use the word, 'our helper'...I don't know for whatever reasons, that's what I do. So...not to avoid these technicalities, but I... like what you said, it's all really history. To me it sounds like, okay I'm on the other side of the fence now. I'm calling someone a domestic worker, calling someone a maid. Although it's a word, but ja. I would want to say helper.

Interviewer: Helper, okay. And char?

Participant 10: Chars is helping, but I think on an occasional basis.

Interviewer: Okay.

Participant 10: That's why they're called chars.

Interviewer: Okay.

Participant 10: I asked what does it mean? I don't even know what it means. I asked my other friends, a waitress, but what is a char? Like au pair. Like I

said, what's that? What language is that? They explained to me, so do au pair, some do chars. So, au pair is for the child, isn't it?

Interviewer: Yes, ja.

Participant 10: And then, char is for house calls or something like that. But it's almost the same. Some do au pair for weekends, some do chars. Two hundred, two-fifty, three hundred highest. Some people are paying one fifty. So, now there's a transport to and from, it's almost equals to someone who's staying with...But some people don't want to stay with people because of privacy and whatever the reasons.

Interviewer: And transport is very expensive.

Participant 10: Yes.

Interviewer: So, ja. So, I think I've asked you all the question that I have here, but is there anything that you'd like to add?

Participant 10: What is your question again, the first one, the main question again?

Interviewer: So, the main thing is, I'm looking at...

Participant 10: I saw somewhere here, where I signed here, yes, okay...Because of the nature of my career or my profession, I see these things, I look at these things, I try to understand it. I think my answers, some goes that side because I observe. Um, two ways, I have family members who are being employed as, and I am employing. But I can't employ a close family member and pay them. Otherwise they come and stay with us to help and then they work for free. But, they can end up complaining also, to my wife that we are, the word 'utilising' them, or mistreat, so that's the reason. But I have family, close family members, who are working somewhere else, domestically. No, as ja, they're not domestic workers, these people, they do chars. I don't know why. And so, maybe you need to dig deeper, what is a char, what is a...

Interviewer: So, looking at the definitions of the people?

Participant 10: Yes. There's another [topic], when you're done. I think ... that is the thing. Like for example, even you a company, can be employed as a waiter, or as a whatever, a sculler or just a runner. So, that technicalities around, or just come weekend to run. So, chars are like that. So, you see that someone works, Monday somewhere else, Tuesday somewhere else, Wednesday is somewhere else, Thursday somewhere else, Friday somewhere else. But they go to work five days. I don't think they can have a contract there. So, the contract, people are having to protect themselves for identification purposes, not a contract as a contract, but let's say something after. So, you know, maybe we can know where do they come from or something like that, ja. Maybe that can be the reason.

Interviewer: So, ja, that is one of the things I've been trying to wrap my head around, is if you're legally required to actually have a contract, if you've got like a part time job. I think so, but...

Participant 10: Yes. You see now, you need a contract for one day work. But the labour says you can have a contract for certain hours per month.

Interviewer: I think it's twenty-four hours or...

Participant 10: Per month?

Interviewer: Per month, I think.

Participant 10: Yes, so they don't do this, they just come and clean my windows, there's no hour for that. As long as I've done and go. Come and press my machine to wash and then do the iron, some of them come back afternoon, that's why they want to work there, some are not lazy, but they are comfortable. Some are quick, they know the game, so they do the ironing, they are out. And then when you arrive back home, your work is done. So, maybe three hours per day times four, what's that? Twelve hours. Five hours per day times four, what's that? Twenty

hours, so you don't need a contract for that. So, I don't know who came up with that.

Interviewer: I don't know, I have to just double check it. I've been trying to research, eventually I've spoken to a friend of mine who's in HR, he's going to tell me. But it shouldn't be so difficult to find these things out, but...

Participant 10: But why do you... You can't have a contract for someone who is illegal. Someone who is not legal here.

Interviewer: Ja, no, you can't.

Participant 10: Those who are legal, most of them, they're working. They can get a job there because they pay UIF and whatever. Most of them, there are passports, but maybe their permits expires or they get three months and then maybe... they're just here to... They're supposed to be here to visit, so you can check them on that and then... ja. So long the work is done. So, that's the problem... If you ask a lot of people that are employing foreigners mostly, even South Africans, my South African friends, the black friends, they employ foreigners, here from Lesotho, and Zimbabwe mostly, they employ those because they want them to raise their children. They speak English, quick, nicely, so they can speak with them. They can get instructions, they can teach their... Like my sister who is coming, she was teaching at a pre-primary whatever... So, she knows how to do it, but it's only that things are difficult back home. So, I don't want to continue sending her money... I want to help her to help herself. So, she can speak, she can do whatever, she understands things, but she cannot get a formal job now because the process of applying for permits, oh hectic! And I don't want to spoil them by staying with me. I told them that. It's my blood sister, because I want them to grow. So... that's the technicality around everything. The legality of people being employed and then chars, staying with - are they staying in the back house, do they go

back home? So, all those things. And how many hours are they supposed to work?

Interviewer: How do you feel about that?

Participant 10: That's why I was avoiding the word, to use the word exploitation. I'm avoiding that. I think they are helping people. They are not intending to exploit. It's not like, 'yes, I'm going to exploit them'. It's a give and take. But some don't know that people are illegal also. I know because I come from Zimbabwe. I know all this, that some people will never ask. They don't know. Plus, people want people who can get instructions, like what I said. Most Zimbabweans can speak [English]. I'm not saying they're good at it, but they can understand. They can also get back to you. If there's that, it's easy communication. That's how they end up taking them. It's not exploitation, it's the nature of the game.

Interviewer: Okay.

Participant 10: Ja. Like me, but our relative who is staying right now, cannot speak English very... ja she struggles. But we are trying to teach her so she can go back to school and whatever, but we don't have a choice. We wanted to help her. We could have taken someone who can speak to us clearly, nicely, and help my son with the homework. She can't, but our previous ones, sharp, homework, whatever, very clever. But ja... that's the other thing. So, it's the nature of the contracts and the... I don't see the need of a contract, to be true, that's my... I don't know. But it's good, some people, those are the nature of the history, apartheid, so that. But now you cannot have a contract with someone who's illegal here.

Interviewer: Ja

Participant 10: Never.

Interviewer: No.

Participant 10: It's not a contract. Actually, you are having document. 'Can I have copy of your ID' or whatever. You put it somewhere else. Ja, not to send it somewhere, to government. So, it's not a contract if it's not sent somewhere, or if the Labour Department's are involved. Ja, that's my thinking ... So, there are lots of trends because of a number of factors in terms of the nature of jobs or employers and then the legality of the employee or the helper let's call, and then the nature or the hours of the job, is it two hours, one hour and something like that. So, it depends.

Interviewer: That's very helpful, thank you.

Participant 10: Ja, okay. Thank you.

Interviewer: Is there anything else you'd like to say?

Participant 10: No, nothing else, nothing else.

Interviewer: Well, I appreciate your time.

Participant 10: Okay.

Follow-Up Interview with Participant 10

| Details | |
|--|-------------------------------|
| Date | 24/05/2019 |
| Type of Interview | Questions answered over email |
| <i>Pseudonyms have been used in this transcript to protect the identity of the participant and his family.</i> | |

Interviewer: At the time of our previous interview, what was the home language of your family's helper?

Participant 10: Shona

Interviewer: In our previous interview you mentioned that both you and your wife were working full time. Could you describe the nature of your work as an academic?

Participant 10: I am a Lecturer

Interviewer: Were both you and your wife away from home during the week?

Participant 10: Yes, we are away during the week.

Interviewer: Did you or your wife have to work on weekends?

Participant 10: My wife do work on weekends

Interviewer: What time did your wife have to leave home for work and what time would she return?

Participant 10: My wife leaves just before 7 am for work and she returns just after. Sometimes she leaves for work at 9 am and comes back after 6 pm.

Interviewer: What time did you have to leave home for work and what time would you return?

Participant 10: I leave home just after 7 am and comes back around 5 pm.

Interviewer: Do you have any other comments you would like to make?

Participant 10: No further comments.

Transcript of Interview with Participant 11

| Details | |
|--|------------------------|
| Date | 9/06/2018 |
| Type of Interview | Face to face interview |
| <i>Pseudonyms have been used in this transcript to protect the identity of the participant and his family.</i> | |

Interviewer: Okay, so just to reiterate that you don't need to feel pressured to answer anything that you're not comfortable with, that you will remain anonymous and that I will treat everything that you tell me with extreme care. Okay so, do you remember having a domestic worker at home as a child?

Participant 11: Yes.

Interviewer: So, tell me a bit about your relationship with your childhood domestic worker?

Participant 11: Well, I was very young. Um, I was probably five or six. That's the only memory, so I didn't have a relationship with her really. She just cleaned the house, um, and helped my mom and that was it.

Interviewer: Did she stay on the property?

Participant 11: No. She would come in maybe, I think every day. Or maybe...I don't know. I think it was every day, but she didn't stay with us.

Interviewer: Okay, and how long did she work for you?

Participant 11: I don't know, don't remember.

Interviewer: Okay...so has your experience of your domestic worker as much as you can remember, impacted whether you want a domestic worker to work for you today, or not?

- Participant 11:** No. That was not an experience which was memorable enough to inform any decision I make now, so the decision to have or not have a domestic worker has been informed by my current experiences and just like the experiences of people who have or have no domestic workers and not necessarily my own childhood experience.
- Interviewer: So, could you tell me a bit about your family?
- Participant 11:** Where do you want me to start?
- Interviewer: Do you stay with anyone? Whatever you feel is relevant.
- Participant 11:** Family, my family's in the Eastern Cape. Um, my mom and one of my brothers stays there. Uh, my two older brothers live in Pretoria. They're married with kids. Uh, they work that side. My dad died a very long time ago, um, and I've been in Cape Town, I think since 2001, but I go home probably twice or three times a year, and my extended family's that side, gran, uncle, aunts, you know, everyone.
- Interviewer: And where you stay currently, do you share your house with anyone?
- Participant 11:** Yes, I share my house with two other ladies. Um, ja, one is from Venda and one is from Zim.
- Interviewer: And you're all renting?
- Participant 11:** Yes.
- Interviewer: Okay. Um, do you have any children?
- Participant 11:** Not yet.
- Interviewer: Okay. Um, so, could you tell me about your decision not to hire a domestic worker currently?
- Participant 11:** I didn't think there was a need. I mean, like it's a...three-bedroom apartment, um, and we're all females, so I've always just thought we

can manage, and I think we're all reasonably neat and clean people, so everyone just does their part and we've been fine for the last two and a half, almost three years.

Interviewer: Okay. Um, was your decision motivated by your personal values in any way?

Participant 11: I guess if, I guess self-sufficiency's a personal value, then I guess that, um, and just this thing of people must just take responsibility for their part in keeping the house clean.

Interviewer: Okay. Um, how do you feel about domestic work in South Africa in general?

Participant 11: It's very exploitative, very. It's such a... It's one of the strongest indicators of power relations in South Africa, um, and it's gonna take a very, very long time to, to break that down, um, ja. I guess part of me also didn't want to participate because it's so exploitative that I felt like if I were to have anyone, that I'd be contributing to, to the problem and not necessarily...ja.

Interviewer: And how do you feel it's exploitative?

Participant 11: Well, it's a power relationship between the domestic worker and the employer, um, and the stories that I've heard, I have an aunt who is a domestic worker, and when I was in high school taking a bus from Khayelitsha to Sea Point, I'd hear stories, you know, I'd listen in on stories between these old women who are traveling to work. They are old, black women mostly, who have their own kids and own families, but they have to work [leave] home at the crack of dawn 04:00 or 05:00 to go get ready a child which is not even theirs, you know, cook, clean, um, do all these things, sometimes even help the kids with homework, but they can't be any of those things to their own children. Um, so, that is just disheartening, and they get paid peanuts. Like they get...If they were paid not an equal wage, but if they were paid a fair

salary, um, and there was a national standard of some kind, I don't know if there is or if there isn't, but I don't think there is, and that it was actually a regulated industry, like teaching and all those things, cause they do a lot of work, then it would deal with the issues of unfairness and...exploitation.

Interviewer: Okay, um, so you say your aunt is a domestic worker?

Participant 11: Yes.

Interviewer: And has that helped inform your views around domestic work as well?

Participant 11: Ja, definitely...I think she could've done more with her life if she wanted to, so that's one side, but, with regard to the work that she has chosen to do, no, it's...But then again, I think my own experiences with her – I've seen the positive side of the work that she does. Like she has built strong relationships with the people that she works for, um, and they like her, and she likes them, and she, like, always wants so much more for her own children. When she goes, and she works in all these places and she meets all these people, she always says to her daughter, "I want you to get out of here, in Khayelitsha, and I want you to study and I want you to you know, go stay in Rondebosch and see the world and do so many things." And that has, I think, been informed by her exposure to a life outside of her immediate environment. So, that was a positive indicator of how, you know, how positive the relationship can be, but my assumptions and my observations from other people, who I don't really know, have somewhat seemed very negative.

Interviewer: Okay...Do you know if your aunt's part of a union?

Participant 11: I don't think so.

Interviewer: So, would you ever consider hiring a domestic worker?

Participant 11: We just did actually, today.

Interviewer: Okay.

Participant 11: Ja, I finally caved in and I said, “Okay fine,” cause I don’t have time to clean and, um, I felt like the house needed some spring cleaning and I wasn’t gonna do it, so we decided to get some help.

Interviewer: Just for today?

Participant 11: I think she’s gonna come once a month.

Interviewer: Okay, once a month.

Participant 11: She’s starting today, ja.

Interviewer: So, have you ever hired a domestic worker before?

Participant 11: No.

Interviewer: Um, do you know if this new lady that you are hiring once a month is part a union?

Participant 11: No, but she’s part of a...group, like Sweep South or something.

Interviewer: Oh, so did you hire her through a company?

Participant 11: Ja

Interviewer: Okay. How’s that experience for you?

Participant 11: I hate them.

Interviewer: Really? Why is that?

Participant 11: I hate them so much. Oh my God, like they...Oh my God! I’m so angry. Today we found out, one of my flat mates actually asked her, “so how much are they paying you?”, because we paid about three hundred for three hours. Um, and she told us that she gets paid R25.00 an hour. I was like...I was so mad. I was like but what are they doing

with?...and then she had to get herself here all the way from Delft. She is not given any lunch money or anything like that and she works seven days a week, R25.00 an hour. What is anyone gonna to do with R25.00 an hour, you know? Especially because we paid them, like, so much money, um, so I actually wanna write them a very heavy email, a strong email on Monday cause I'm so angry.

Interviewer: And, um, do they do all the legal aspects of the...relationship?

Participant 11: I guess so, ja, cause we paid them via credit card and then they pay her.

Interviewer: Okay, okay, so what duties will she have?

Participant 11: Just, clean the house, both the bedrooms, bathrooms. Well, she packed, she cleaned my wardrobe and re-packed my clothes.

Interviewer: Oh wow.

Participant 11: Mmm, that was nice, and, you can take off your shoes friend, relax.

Interviewer: Thanks...I'm getting pins and needles.

Participant 11: It's fine, relax. Uh, cleaning, all the bathrooms, all the bathrooms, repacking...wardrobes, cleaning the kitchen cupboards and flooring and those kinds of things.

Interviewer: And cooking?

Participant 11: No.

Interviewer: Okay.

Participant 11: No, we don't need her for that long, we just need cleaning.

Interviewer: And do you know if this company trains their domestic workers?

Participant 11: I don't know actually. I have no idea.

- Interviewer: Okay, so what monthly rate would you pay the company then?
- Participant 11:** I'm not gonna ever use the company again. I'm gonna use her independently.
- Interviewer: Okay.
- Participant 11:** Not the company.
- Interviewer: And how much will you pay her if I may ask?
- Participant 11:** Three hundred.
- Interviewer: Three hundred?
- Participant 11:** A day.
- Interviewer: A day, okay. And how many hours would that be for?
- Participant 11:** Well, she got here at...She was supposed to start at 08:00, she got here at 08:00, but we only started at 09:00 because there were other people, maintenance people here. So, it's nine, ten, eleven, twelve, one, two, three, uh!, nine, ten, eleven, twelve, one, two, three, wow, six hours, three hundred. That's a lot of time. She's been here since 09:00.
- Interviewer: So, and in the future, would you use her for the same hours?
- Participant 11:** Well, I don't think it's going to be...This was our first time so there was a lot to do. You know, like, just doing everything, with the wardrobes, and the cleaning, and the spring cleaning. I think as time goes on that we won't need her...for such a long period. Maybe from 09:00 to 13:00, you know, kind of thing.
- Interviewer: ...Okay, um, you know how much she pays for transport to get here?
- Participant 11:** I don't know, maybe return, I'll assume she's paying maybe R40.00.

- Interviewer: Okay, and will you be providing her with payments in kind, or just cash?
- Participant 11:** Cash.
- Interviewer: Okay, and are you planning to have a contract with her?
- Participant 11:** No.
- Interviewer: No. And with this company, do you have to sign a contract when you hired her?
- Participant 11:** No.
- Interviewer: Okay.
- Participant 11:** It was just an app.
- Interviewer: Um, do you know what the minimum wage is for domestic workers?
- Participant 11:** No.
- Interviewer: So, it is actually a regulated industry.
- Participant 11:** Oh!
- Interviewer: Yes, but, you would probably think that it's very low, so for domestic workers who work more than twenty-seven hours per week, so that's full time, the hourly rate is R13.05, the weekly rate is R587.40 and the monthly rate is R2545.22.
- Participant 11:** R13.00 an hour?
- Interviewer: That's for urban areas. Non-urban areas is less, and then for domestic workers working twenty-seven hours or less, the hourly rate is R15.28, the weekly rate is R412.16 and the monthly rate is R1787.80. So, how do you feel about that?

Participant 11: It's shocking. What is someone going to do with R13.00? I spend R13.00 in a second. You know what I mean? Like, what is someone going to do with R13.00?

Interviewer: Ja, and so, I dunno know if you've heard, but government wants to now implement a minimum wage across all sectors, so these sector specific minimum wages will be done away with, and I think they're looking at, for full time workers it will be R3500.00 a month minimum wage. But, I assume that's for full time workers, not part time workers. I don't know what it will be for part time workers.

Participant 11: I still...I don't understand how people survive.

Interviewer: It's not the same as a living wage.

Participant 11: Which is?

Interviewer: Well, minimum wage doesn't mean you can live off of it.

Participant 11: So, what's the difference between minimum wage and...?

Interviewer: No, that's just my opinion, sorry. I must just say, let me not influence you, I'm sorry. So, I've come across a lot people or a lot of domestic workers who are now working part time because they can earn more money if they're working for lots of different people than if they work for one person a month, unless that person's very generous. Ja, and do you know what other legislation covers domestic workers?

Participant 11: No.

Interviewer: So, they are under the Basic Conditions of Employment Act, which they weren't always under, and if you hire a domestic worker for more than twenty-four hours a month, then you have to pay UI

Participant 11: UIF.

Interviewer: UIF, ja, and then they're covered by the Occupational Health and Safety Act, for injuries at work and then obviously they have the opportunity to go to the CCMA as well.

Participant 11: Do they have to be registered for all of this?

Interviewer: I have been doing as much research as I can to try and find out the stuff, but this is like labour law stuff, so I can't tell you for certain, but I think, and I am busy finding out currently, but I think if your domestic worker works for you for twenty-four hours or more, then you have to have a contract and all these things apply. Less than that, I think you could be considered like, I don't think we use the term casual labour in this country, but ja. So, you do have to register for UIF, but only if your domestic worker works for you for twenty-four hours or more a month, that I do know, ja.

Participant 11: Okay

Interviewer: So, I was speaking to someone this morning, actually I was interviewing someone else, and they were talking about how they feel the definition of the word domestic worker needs to be investigated more, and he was telling me that he thinks there's a difference between a domestic worker, and a char, and a helper, and I don't know if you've ever heard of that or if you feel there is like these different nuances?

Participant 11: No, I think they are all...the same thing. Um, a char, well, when I used to hear that term when I was younger, is someone who comes like maybe every, like a part time work, you know? It's a chore, but it's called a char because it's you know, they come in part time and they do whatever they need to do and then they go, which is the same thing as a domestic worker who probably chooses to work part time. It's the same thing. Um, a helper is just a more polite way of saying domestic worker. So, it's all the same thing to me.

Interviewer: Okay. Um, those are all the questions I have for you, but I don't know if there's anything you would like to add? Or if you feel like...ja, is there anything you would like to add?

Participant 11: So, what are you trying to find out with the research?

Interviewer: So, I am looking at the reasons behind why people do the things they do, when it comes to hiring domestic workers or not hiring domestic workers, ja.

Participant 11: So, what do you think is...what do you think are the reasons so far?

Interviewer: Well, obviously, it's a luxury for a lot of people. Um, a lot of people, especially with children can't cope when both parents are working, so, they need someone to help them. I was very interested to hear from people who don't have domestic workers, whether they feel, have like political views or values behind why they're not hiring domestic workers. And also, just the basic trends, like do people generally hire domestic workers part time more than full time? And is there a difference in the way they're treated? Those kinds of things.

Participant 11: And will you be speaking to any domestic workers?

Interviewer: I might be, but right now, it's looking more at like employment trends, so why people do or don't hire domestic workers? Um, I might speak to some domestic workers. I just have to really think what kind of questions I would ask them.

Participant 11: Because maybe it would be, this is just my opinion, maybe it would provide you with some insight as into the world of domestic work because what I'm assuming is that in a lot... Well a lot of black South African, I'm saying black because most domestic workers are black, um, a lot of black South Africans no longer want to be domestic workers. They are like know what, R13.00 an hour? I don't think so, and now you have this surge of, um, domestic workers from Zim, because my lady who's helping me now, she's from Zim, and so, that's

a trend on its own, and it might surface other things, I dunno. I know you're not looking from both sides, but also you might come onto to some of the questions like, what is the union structure like and how does that inform a lot of things and do you need to be registered and...? You know what I mean? Just maybe one or two, just to get a feel of what they do and maybe get views from a South African versus a non-South African domestic worker, just to inform some of your research.

Interviewer: Definitely. Thank you.

Participant 11: Ja.

Interviewer: Are there any questions you feel that I should have asked, that I didn't?

Participant 11: Uh, no.

Interviewer: Okay. Thank you.

Participant 11: Pleasure.

Transcript of First Interview with Participant 12

| Details | |
|--|------------------------|
| Date | 11/06/2018 |
| Type of Interview | Face to face interview |
| <i>Pseudonyms have been used in this transcript to protect the identity of the participant and his family.</i> | |

Interviewer: Thank you again for agreeing to let me interview you. And I just wanna re-emphasise that you don't have to answer any questions that you feel uncomfortable with and that you will stay anonymous. So, do you remember having a domestic worker at home as a child?

Participant 12: Yes, ja we did.

Interviewer: So, tell me about your relationship with your childhood domestic worker?

Participant 12: Well, we've had one since I can remember. So, when my mother worked, she would give us lunch and watch, like, over us, take care of us in the afternoons. Um, and back then, we had a sleep in domestic, so there from the morning right through until like supper time or whatever. Um, and that was up until we were in high school...we had a sleep in domestic, so.

Interviewer: Did she stay in the house or outside?

Participant 12: She had an outside room with, ja, a loo and all of that, so ja.

Interviewer: Okay, and did she eat with you guys? Or did she have here own little place that she ate in?

Participant 12: She had her own place. Well, I mean, she...I don't think she had kitchen. So my mother would make supper and then she'd dish up a plate for her and then she would eat in her room.

Interviewer: Okay, alright. And has your experience of your domestic worker as a child impacted what you look for in a domestic worker today?

Participant 12: I haven't really thought that at this stage...Before I had a child, I just needed someone to clean my house. That's the one thing that I looked for, because I don't always have time for it. So I just always wanted to find someone that could do a good job of cleaning my house. Um, so I haven't really thought of it...I suppose at some stage in my life that would be something that I would look for, if and when we get to that stage where I would need someone to look after my child after school, but at this stage of my life, I'm still just looking for someone to do my...So, I think later in life, maybe my perspective or the choices that I make regarding who I hire might change, or if the girl that I have now is, you know, the correct fit for perhaps looking after my daughter as well.

Interviewer: Okay.

Participant 12: So, it might change, but at this stage still, I'm just looking for someone who can do a good job of cleaning my house. So...

Interviewer: Alright. Um, so is your child not pre-school age yet? She's still very small?

Participant 12: Ja, no, she's six months, so yes.

Interviewer: So, tell me how you came to hire your current domestic worker?

Participant 12: Uh, our neighbour actually. She was working at our neighbour once every two weeks, and then I think she really needed obviously more people to fill in her days. So, our neighbour put it on our, like a neighbourhood WhatsApp thing, just to say if there's someone that needs a domestic, her one is really good, and she needs extra work. So, um, we started using her and then we actually recommended her to my sister in-law as well. So, she now works for my sister in-law too.

Interviewer: Okay. Um, and why did you choose her? Were there others that you were considering or...?

Participant 12: No, I always find it difficult to... I never know where to start looking in the first place for anyone. So I like recommendations... We used my sister in-law's previous one, but then she got pregnant and it was a very difficult pregnancy, so she had to stop working really early on. So, that's why we got the new one now. But I go on recommendations, so anyone that would recommend someone for me, I would use them, because... I wouldn't know where to start. I've always only gone on someone that said, 'Oh my domestic needs, and she's got two days open a week, or whatever, and she needs to fill them if there's someone to help out'. So, that's how I found everyone that's worked for us, is like that.

Interviewer: And do you have trial runs with them or do you just trust the recommendations?

Participant 12: The recommendations have always come from people that I trust, so I tend to fully trust that. It's always, um, from family or I think our very first one, since I was married, was from my father in-law actually, a friend of their domestic. So, it's always been someone that I really trust in their opinion or whatever. So, I would fully trust them to just come in and clean my house. Um, if after like two or three times I'm not happy, I would tell them, 'Look I'm sorry it's not really working out'.

Interviewer: Okay. Has that ever happened?

Participant 12: No.

Interviewer: Okay.

Participant 12: Luckily not, no.

Interviewer: Okay.

Participant 12: It's like everyone's got an off day, so every now and then I might think it's not as clean as I would like it to be, but I'm very fussy when it comes to things like that. So, I was just going, like maybe, she's just not having a good day. So, I mean that happens but, it's not like it's an everyday occurrence or that I've ever had to after three days, go and tell her 'Look, I don't think it's working out'. So, it's always been that they have worked there for quite a while.

Interviewer: Okay. Um, have you ever hired a domestic worker through a company?

Participant 12: No.

Interviewer: Okay. Would you ever consider doing that?

Participant 12: I might, yes. Um, if something does happen at the stage where the one that we have isn't able to continue or whatever, maybe I will because we were sort of, like before we got her, we were in a position and we thought we had no idea where to start looking, or who were we going to hire because there was just no one else making any recommendations. So, luckily that one, you know, popped up, but I probably might yes, and they would also come with, obviously, with good recommendations because she can't, you know, they don't just hire anyone, I would say, off the streets, but...

Interviewer: Okay, um, is your domestic worker a South African citizen?

Participant 12: Yes, she is.

Interviewer: Okay. Would you prefer a South African citizen or a foreign domestic worker? Do you have a preference?

Participant 12: I do not know. The lady we had before this was Malawian. And, um, so, I do not have a preference. It doesn't make a difference to me, no. I just want you to clean my house for me please and then I'm happy.

Interviewer: Okay. Is your domestic worker from Cape Town?

Participant 12: Yes.

Interviewer: Okay, which province? Do you know?

Participant 12: She's from the Eastern Cape, sorry.

Interviewer: Okay, and where does she currently stay?

Participant 12: I have to be honest, I have no idea.

Interviewer: That's fine.

Participant 12: I always, I forget, so...

Interviewer: It's fine don't worry.

Participant 12: And I forget, and it's... yes.

Interviewer: It's okay, don't worry. And so, is she full time or part time?

Participant 12: Part time.

Interviewer: Okay. So, how many days a week does she come to you?

Participant 12: One.

Interviewer: One day a week?

Participant 12: Ja

Interviewer: Okay. And for how many hours?

Participant 12: She comes in, she usually gets there anywhere between quarter past eight and quarter to nine, and then she's finished about three, quarter past three at the latest.

Interviewer: Okay. And, um, why did you make the decision for those particular hours?

Participant 12: Oh, well, for her to get there in the morning. It's just I have to get to work, so, um, I ask her to be there at the latest at quarter past eight, but then obviously, there are issues with taxis and things, so it does happen that sometimes she gets there a bit late, especially when it's raining, it's difficult. Um, she usually is there at work by quarter past eight, just I can get to work at nine at the latest. And then whenever she's finished, she leaves. So, I never told her, you have to work until three or you have to work until four.

Interviewer: Oh Okay.

Participant 12: So, when she's finished, then ja, she can go.

Interviewer: And was there a reason you only chose her once a week?

Participant 12: My husband is this, like, compulsive cleaner anyway. So, if he sees, you know, there's something lying on the floor, he'll sweep, you know, and he's forever washing up. So, uh, we had her actually once every two weeks only, but now since our, the baby...we decided once a week might be better, just not that the baby really makes a mess, but I just think, you know, for future as well, now we've got her sort of booked for once a week so that you know, when the baby does get bigger and she does start making a mess, then we do have her already for once a week, ja. So, it wasn't really, we just don't need anyone more than that, and our house isn't very big either. It's like, it's a small town house. So, it doesn't take her... it doesn't take that long to, for her to clean or for us to quickly do a quick clean if we need to.

Interviewer: Okay, and, um, would you be comfortable telling me how much you pay her a day?

Participant 12: We give her R200.00 a day.

- Interviewer: Okay, um, do you know how much your domestic worker pays for transport?
- Participant 12:** No. I used to know like how much it would cost them to get in. I think our previous one...she paid, I think it was R20.00, but I can't, I don't know the current one.
- Interviewer: It's okay. Uh, do you have a... Oh, do you also provide your domestic worker with payment in kind, like lunches etcetera or does she bring her own lunch?
- Participant 12:** I put out. Well, there's always bread in the house, so there's bread and there's peanut butter and then I told her if she wants jam or anything, she can make herself some bread. Um, it was kind of, um, a question of, you know, we could give you a bit less and then give you lunch or we give you more and then we give you bread if you want to make toast or whatever so, and then she opted for getting a bit more and then just having bread. Um, I think she does bring herself some lunch sometimes, cause she doesn't always have bread, I know that. And then, uh whatever fruit we have in the house, I put out fruit for her too.
- Interviewer: Okay. Is there anything else?
- Participant 12:** That we'd give? Oh yes, coffee or tea and water, but no.
- Interviewer: Okay. And, um, do you have a written contract with your domestic worker?
- Participant 12:** No.
- Interviewer: No. Okay, so I know that these questions usually suit people who have full time domestic workers, but I'm going to ask anyway.
- Participant 12:** Okay.
- Interviewer: So, um, do you provide her with paid sick leave, and holidays?

Participant 12: Um, what we do is, if when we go away for a week, then we will pay her for the day that she didn't because it's not her fault that she can't work. It's we that going on holiday, or whatever. So, we pay her for that, and then in December, I think last year she was off for two weeks, then we only had her once a week, so we paid her for the one week that she wasn't there. So, like a kind of a pre-pay. But then, yes obviously we paid her for the two Thursdays that she isn't there, so we'd give her that at the end of the year, so ja. So, that is like paid leave is suppose.

Interviewer: Ja, and, um, UIF and do you pay like...?

Participant 12: We don't, no. Last I heard I think, ja, like you said, full time they have to work a certain amount of hours with you only and then you have to pay UIF. I don't think it's necessary.

Interviewer: I think it's twenty-four hours or more a month.

Participant 12: Is it ? Okay, okay, that's good to know.

Interviewer: Ja. And a pension?

Participant 12: No.

Interviewer: And annual increases?

Participant 12: She gets, yes she does, ja. We usually go, I would say we go for like ten per cent because ten per cent of what she gets, you know, it isn't a lot, so to we try and do it like that, ja.

Interviewer: Okay. Um, and obviously she doesn't live on your property. Um, so what type of work does she do? Just cleaning? Does she do cooking?

Participant 12: She's just, she's ironing and cleaning, ja.

Interviewer: No cooking?

Participant 12: No cooking.

Interviewer: Okay. Do you know what the minimum wage is for domestic workers?

Participant 12: No

Interviewer: So I can tell you if you're interested?

Participant 12: Yes. Actually, I knew once about that, but I knew once, but I knew only when all of the new laws and such came in, that you have to pay UIF and all of that because I had this discussion with my mother about that, so, so, ja I don't know.

Interviewer: So, that was in like 2002 I think, but every year the minimum wage changes. So, for domestic workers who work twenty-seven hours a week or less, and that's part time, the hourly rate is R15.28.

Participant 12: Okay.

Interviewer: They don't give a daily rate, so you'd have to work it out unfortunately. And then the weekly rate is R412.60 ... and then monthly rate is R1787.80.

Participant 12: R15.00 an hour? Shame, that's not a lot.

Interviewer: How do you feel about the minimum wage?

Participant 12: That's sort of a... we pay more than that because she's [counting] yes, so that's more or less double we... That is not a lot, that's... cause the only thing I knew was that at least we were, I know we were paying her, you know, more than what we had to pay ... but that is not a lot.

Interviewer: And that's for urban areas, for non-urban areas it's less.

Participant 12: That's ridiculous. That really is ridiculous because I mean, cleaning a house isn't always easy either. So R15.00 really isn't... That is ridiculous and it costs them more than R15.00, well, some of them come from really far to get here or to get to wherever they need to be.

Interviewer: So, that is as of 2018, but I know they want to come out with a new legislation that sets one minimum wage across all industries. Because right now you have different minimum wages for different industries... And different work. And that they want to set to R3500.00 a month, but that would be full time, I don't know about part time.

Participant 12: That's better, that is.

Interviewer: Ja, a lot of people are shocked when I actually tell them.

Participant 12: Ja.

Interviewer: And do you know what other legislation covers your domestic worker?

Participant 12: I do not, no.

Interviewer: So, they're obviously under the Basic Conditions of Employment Act.

Participant 12: Yes, ja

Interviewer: For full time domestic workers twenty-four hours or more, you have to pay UIF and it's one percent. And which is also crazy, so like R20.00 a month if you pay... no that's like because a one percent... no its not one, I think it's ten percent. I'm sorry, I need to double check. It was something crazy. Something very small.

Participant 12: Small, ja.

Interviewer: Okay and then the Occupational Health and Safety Act covers them for injuries, and they have access to the CCMA. Um, ja and ... How do you feel about that?

Participant 12: Well, I...that's what everyone else has, so...it should cover everyone that does a job, so it's good that they have that, but it shouldn't be... I don't think it should be like a special thing, like ooh this is what you get, you know. It's good... plus everyone should have that. It should be like a basic thing that we all should have, no matter what job you

do. So, I think it's good that they have it, but I don't want to say it's...a special privilege to have it. It should really be something that we should all just get as employees.

Interviewer: Okay, um, do you know if your domestic worker's part of a union?

Participant 12: I don't think she is, no.

Interviewer: Okay. And, do you see her as part of the family?

Participant 12: Uh, we haven't been a family very long. Um, I think it's a bit difficult to see her like that because she is only there for, like, once a week now, for the last two months and then it's literally, she gets there and then I have to go. So it's, "Oh, good morning...how are you? Okay thank you, have a good day," and then I leave to work and then she goes before I'm back. So, there really isn't a lot of, like, conversation to chat or whatever, and I always like, even if she is there and we are there, I sort of always just want to be out of the house so that she can do her thing and cause I don't want to be in her way, you know. I just want her to do her thing and be comfortable doing whatever she wants to do when she wants to do it, and not have to go, "Anna, I want to clean that room, go somewhere else." So, I always try to, like, to be out of the house as well. So...it's very difficult. It's different, like, when we had the live in when I was little, um, because then you know, it's morning, it's breakfast there and there and they get breakfast, you know. And then they take care of you in the afternoon, so then they're sort of...then they are part of the family because you see them a lot more often and you interact with them a lot more and there's conversations and you know, jokes and all of that. So, then at that stage yes, then they felt like part of the family, but now I literally see her ten minutes, you know – once a week, basically. It's a bit difficult to get that sort of feeling, ja.

Interviewer: Would you ever consider having a domestic worker live on your property and be full time?

Participant 12: Well, our current property doesn't allow for that at all, but, um, if we one day did have a house that has the, like capabilities for us to do that, that would be something that I would consider, yes.

Interviewer: Okay, alright, and have you had different domestic workers work for you before, personally?

Participant 12: Yes.

Interviewer: Okay. Can you remember about how many you've had work for you before?

Participant 12: I think we're, like, on the fifth one now, but, that's since I've moved out of the house.

Interviewer: Okay.

Participant 12: So, that's since...

Interviewer: So, that's just you personally?

Participant 12: 2000, way back then. Me yes, fifth.

Interviewer: Okay, were any of these domestic workers male?

Participant 12: No.

Interviewer: Okay.

Participant 12: Although I have heard that male Malawians are really, really, good at cleaning. Also, that my sister had one...

Interviewer: Okay.

Participant 12: Yes, and she said, he was wonderful.

Interviewer: Okay.

Participant 12: Ja.

Interviewer: So, can you remember why these domestic workers don't work for you anymore? Did you have any problems that they had to leave, or was it just that they moved on or you moved on?

Participant 12: Uh, one girl wanted a permanent position where she could sleep in, and we obviously don't provide that, so she worked for us until she found a permanent job and then she left to do that. Um, like I said, the other one fell pregnant. It wasn't a very good pregnancy but then I sort of started not being too happy with her work either so, it...ja, shame. Then the other one just disappeared. One of them just sort of like, she started owing money apparently to quite a few people who started phoning us, asking us where she is and then I think she just went home. I think she was from the Eastern Cape as well and so she just went home and just didn't come back. Uh, and then the last one was always late. So really, I have to get to work as well, you know. It's kind of like a...It's a very you know, you get there so I can go to work, it's very [inaudible 00:22:37] relationship, so I had to tell her, you know, that it's not working out, because she was always late.

Interviewer: And the one who fell pregnant, did you also have to ask her not to come back?

Participant 12: No, she actually told us that she's no going to work for us anymore, um, which is why we got the other one that was always late. Joice was always late, um, and now we've got Miriam, and ja, loving her. So that's good.

Interviewer: That's nice. Um, so, did any of these experiences with your previous domestic workers affect the way you interact or hired your current domestic worker?

Participant 12: Well, yes. I think I was, um...No, because I think I was very, sort of, crap about how things were done, and I think I was sort of, like, very strict, I want to say, about how things should be done. So, I have sort of become a bit more easy. There's always the thing where no one can

do something as well as you can. So, you know, no one can clean my house as well as I can. No one can look after my child as well as I can, you know, all of that. You have that in your mind. So, you always go, “Oh that’s not right and that’s not right,” and “you can’t do that”. You employ someone to do this for you and you need to let them do what they do. So, I have become a bit more easy going with regards to that, but obviously, you know, if something hasn’t been cleaned for two weeks in a row, then I will point it out to her and say...not point it out in a...you know, make a suggestion, that you know be maybe, “Ooh, could you please do XYZ for me,” um, and then I think they sometimes forget to clean certain things, when I did too, you get, you know...and you forget sometimes and then, and I try, and you know, do it in the nicest possible way, but I suppose I can be a bit short and rude sometimes, so I really try and suggest something and then... ja [laughs].

Interviewer: Um, were your previous domestic workers South African citizens?

Participant 12: Yes, except for the... Gloria, who fell pregnant, she was Malawian.

Interviewer: Okay. Did you find a difference between South African domestic workers and foreign domestic workers?

Participant 12: Uh, not because of their nationality, no. I think the type of people they are, yes, cause what Gloria does, is she goes home to Malawi for a month every year, and during that month she got a friend of hers in to help us out. So, her friend was obviously also from Malawi. Now her friend, I found, cleaned our house much better than Gloria did, but that’s I think because of the type of person she is, obviously not because of her nationality. I think Gloria was a little bit too laid back for me as well, ja, yes. [laughs]. So, ja, not because of their nationality, just, I think, because of the type of people they are, but that would be then between everyone that are South African as well.

Interviewer: Okay.

Participant 12: So...ja, no.

Interviewer: Okay, um, did you have any contracts with any of your previous domestic workers?

Participant 12: No.

Interviewer: And were they part time as well?

Participant 12: Yes.

Interviewer: And similar hours to what your current domestic worker works?

Participant 12: Yes

Interviewer: And their duties, were they the same as well?

Participant 12: Yip.

Interviewer: Okay. Have you ever had a domestic worker go to the CCMA?

Participant 12: No. No, I'm not that bad.

Interviewer: No, don't feel bad, sometimes there's misunderstandings. Like I've heard of people who've had misunderstandings with their domestic workers and then it got sorted out. So, I'm definitely not here to judge you.

Participant 12: No, I'm just, I'm judging myself actually. I...was really bad I think, so, ja.

Interviewer: Okay, those are all my questions. Do you feel like you'd like to add anything?

Participant 12: No, I think you pretty much covered...everything that I thought you would cover, so...

Interviewer: Okay. And do you feel there is any question I didn't ask you that I should have asked?

Participant 12: No.

Interviewer: Okay. Well thank you very much for your time.

Participant 12: Oh, thank you, no, it's a pleasure, and thank you for informing me, the fifteen...

Interviewer: You're welcome.

Transcript of Follow-Up Interview with Participant 12

| Details | |
|--|-------------------------------|
| Date | 28/05/2019 |
| Type of Interview | Questions answered over email |
| <i>Pseudonyms have been used in this transcript to protect the identity of the participant and his family.</i> | |

Interviewer: At the time of our previous interview, what was your husband's occupation?

Participant 12: Business Intelligence IT

Interviewer: What was your domestic worker's place of residence?

Participant 12: Unfortunately I don't know

Interviewer: What was your domestic worker's home language

Participant 12: Unfortunately I don't know, but I think it might be Xhosa

Interviewer: What was the size of your town house? (Square meters, number of rooms, size of yard, outhouse etc.)

Participant 12: Two bedroom, no private yard,

Interviewer: If you chose to have a live-in domestic worker, would you want him/her to live in the house or in her own room or cottage outside the house?

Participant 12: Own room outside

Interviewer: Why?

Participant 12: So she can be more independent and have a friend to visit in the evenings if she wanted to

- Interviewer: In our last interview, you mentioned that you paid your domestic worker R200 a day. What were your reasons for paying her this amount?
- Participant 12:** That is what our neighbours were paying her and we paid her the same amount as the size of the house is the same
- Interviewer: Did you negotiate the price with her?
- Participant 12:** No
- Interviewer: How much do you feel the minimum wage should be for domestic workers?
- Participant 12:** Possibly between R 25.00 and R 30.00/hour. It still sounds very little, but this will at least still give most, if not all, employers the opportunity to keep their workers and prospective employers won't be frightened away with too high a cost as this could in turn mean less domestic workers are hired
- Interviewer: Would you be willing or able to pay this?
- Participant 12:** We are paying a little over R 30.00/hour currently and was paying slightly under R 30.00/hour at the time of the previous interview
- Interviewer: Why?
- Participant 12:** Willing to: Yes. Able to: at this stage Yes, but this could change as our financial position changes
- Interviewer: If the government were to up the minimum wage for domestic workers, how much would be too much for you to keep your domestic worker on?
- Participant 12:** We are already paying quite a bit more than the minimum wage and I honestly doubt that it will be increased by so much that it surpasses what we pay currently

- Interviewer: What is the maximum amount that you would be willing to pay your domestic worker and why?
- Participant 12:** We have a bigger house now and have subsequently increased the pay, but are sort of at our limit with the R 250.00 we are paying. Might be able to squeeze to R 280.00...
- Interviewer: Do you think it is easy to find information on the regulations around domestic work in South Africa? (e.g. information on the minimum wage, when/if to have a contract, UIF, CCMA, bargaining counsel, etc.)
- Participant 12:** There seems to be a lot of websites with the basics, but I did find it a little difficult to be sure that the information is correct and current. Possibly the Labour Department's website is the best one to go to
- Interviewer: What information is more difficult to find?
- Participant 12:** If not on the Labour Department website one can get confused with the terms national minimum wage and domestic worker minimum wage – which obviously differs
- Interviewer: How do you think this could be improved?
- Participant 12:** Nothing we can do as one just has to read the articles more clearly or rather go to the Labour Department website
- Interviewer: Do you have any other comments you would like to make?
- Participant 12:** No

Transcript of Interview with Participant 13

| Details | |
|--|------------------------|
| Date | 05/04/2018 |
| Type of Interview | Face to face interview |
| <i>Pseudonyms have been used in this transcript to protect the identity of the participant and his family.</i> | |

Interviewer: Thank you for agreeing to this interview, and I just wanted to assure you again – I know that you read...and agreed to my consent form, but everything here is private – your name will be anonymous even though I might use some of the details you give me, some of the personal details, but you won't be personally identifiable, and just to confirm that you're okay with being recorded?

Participant 13: No, I'm good.

Interviewer: Cool, thank you. Um, so, do you remember having a domestic worker at home as a child?

Participant 13: Indicates 'no'

Interviewer: You've never had?

Participant 13: Apart of my mom being a domestic worker, no we never had any help.

Interviewer: Okay, um, so, tell me a bit about your family as a child then.

Participant 13: Well, um, ja, we were, um, children of three, and we all lived, I would say, in a...bungalow. Okay, we moved from the, I'm originally from the Eastern Cape, East London, and then in search of work and better opportunities, my parents moved to the...Western Cape. My dad started working here and eventually a couple of years later we, we joined him, and um, ja. So basically we've just been a family of three kids and my parents and we've lived, we never lived like in a big

house where you would think that you would need assistance in that sense of having someone helping out.

Interviewer: And was...that mainly the reason why, or were there other factors that contributed to you not having a domestic worker at home?

Participant 13: Well, I guess in our upbringing it has never been a thing that, um, you would need someone to help out basically because you've got the kids helping out here and there and...even where I come from, it's not a thing where you would actually have, um, people helping out.

Interviewer: Okay, um, would you tell me a bit about your family now?

Participant 13: Well, uh, my parents are back home now after having worked so many years, and my sister lives in their house that they bought, um, and I've moved out. I'm renting in Rondebosch East, so, we're like in different areas, and unfortunately one of our siblings, um, passed away about twelve years ago, our brother.

Interviewer: I'm sorry to hear that.

Participant 13: ...and, so we are a bit scattered, even though my sister and I are here in the Western Cape. My parents are back home.

Interviewer: And do you stay with anyone?

Participant 13: I stay with my two year old, Miriam.

Interviewer: Um, uh, so could you tell me a bit about your decision not to hire a domestic worker at the moment? So, you said in the past...you weren't brought up that way, but are there any other reasons why you feel you don't want a domestic worker at the moment?

Participant 13: So, basically at the moment, since I'm renting, I'm renting a very small little space that is big enough for me and my two year old, which is, um, basically you would say it's a two room compartment. So, you've got the section where you've got your bedroom, then you've got the

section where you've got your kitchen. So, it doesn't have those, um, fancy lounge section, and I feel that it's a very small space. I mean, I literally can do things standing on one point of the room. So, I don't see myself really needing help in doing anything, cause even my washing machine is like within the same diameter, like a small space, and also that thing of never having had someone to actually do those things for you. So, I think, in a way...it will take a lot of change for me in my thinking as well, cause you must remember, sometimes when you hire people, sometimes you might find people that are older than you. So because I'm coming from that culture that I am, it is always the younger person working for the older person. Even though I've...got a friend who has someone who comes in and like, I don't know, I think if it was me, I...wouldn't feel comfortable, because obviously sometimes you need to give instructions and me giving an instruction to an older, even though you have that thing that you're paying this person, it still doesn't have that comfortable feeling, telling them what to do when something arises. So, I guess that's also a reason why I don't consider having a domestic worker, plus also...in terms of payment. So, I don't think at the moment I would be at a financial position to actually pay a person, being the person that I am, um, looking at what I need as a person and what would be available for me to pay them. So, I see what I would be able, what would be available for me as too little for that person to sustain themselves. So, that also would be an uncomfortable factor, knowing that you are hardly, um, making it with yours, which seems like it's a lot, and then you're expecting to take a small portion and give to someone who will have to have the same responsibilities as you. So, I just seem to put everyone's problems on me when making, um, the decision.

Interviewer:

I think you've touched on it, um, the fact that you weren't brought up that way and your value system encourages you to respect older people and that would make it uncomfortable for you to, um, give someone who's older than you instructions, and also the idea of paying someone

too little bothers you. Um, are there any other personal values that have affected your decision in any way?

Participant 13: No, not really.

Interviewer: And how would you feel about it if it was a younger person?

Participant 13: Like that's another thing. With...the younger person I assume it would be the, um, I don't know, I've never thought of it, because...most of the time you tend to want someone older and more mature because they seem to be more, I don't know, I would think they would be more responsible and... come to think of it I've never compared the two, sorry, because especially in the sense, cause if I were to get someone it would've been ideal when my little one was even younger. So, you wouldn't want someone who is fairly young to be looking after your kid. So, we have that thing that an older person would be more responsible, and, um, having a younger person, I don't know, I've never thought of it. I've always had that thing that I would have to have someone who's more mature, but because of how I feel, I also feel that I wouldn't feel comfortable [inaudible 8:46].

Interviewer: How do you feel about domestic work in general, especially in South Africa?

Participant 13: Well, first of all, I feel that it's decreasing, because um, when I grew up, uh, people were working full time, especially if they're working for a family, but it seems like now, even if you're working for a family, they would rather have you a few times in a week, like a few days in a week, and um, it doesn't seem like, a lot of people don't seem like to be focussing on looking for work in this domestic um, field. I think because of the fact that there's fewer hours or fewer days as compared to other, um, spaces. So, but in all, um, I mean I can only speak from what, because I've never actually looked into it or wondered anything about domestic work, but I can see the difference in that when my...mother was working as a domestic worker, then you seemed to

have a full time job as compared to people now having to work at different places just to make sure that you work a full week, but obviously, it's more strenuous in that you will have different levels of dirtiness in the different houses. So, you will find that a person who goes to a place twice a week, there will be more to do when they come back and having more to do when you come back in the other place. So, I feel that in this time and age the people who working as domestic workers are feeling more overworked, but you feel that it's still, you're still getting paid in the same ranges of people who work as a full time domestic worker. So, it doesn't matter even if you working in two different houses, it doesn't seem like your salary increases, you're just trying to make sure that you get more of the little that you get. Understand what I'm trying to say? So, it doesn't really make a difference in the fact that the work load is more because obviously you're going back after a couple of days, especially if the place has more kids...If the place, um, the family that you're working for has more kids, and plus, you're working for different places...and you're still feeling that, um, the money is still not enough because obviously, it's not standard that you will be getting the same amount at the different families. So, it's at their own discretion.

Interviewer: And these feelings you have, um, have you been speaking to people who are domestic workers or your mom maybe who gave you...

Participant 13: Well, I've seen it...because I've got a family friend who is a domestic worker in Constantia, um, and obviously...in her case, the place, the family house is very big. So, at times she has felt like she needed help, but because she works for a family that's very understanding, they even, um, considered um, when she came and she was like, 'can I look for someone to help me and come in maybe twice in a week?', because, I mean, she actually cooks for them as well. So, in that sense, like, she feels as if she's working from 06:00 to 18:00 because she needs to be available for breakfast for them, kids, they go off to school, she cleans up and then they come back, she must start preparing to get

their food ready as well. So, in that sense you just feel that, um, things have changed in that there are families in which domestic workers can actually um...bring up their own views. Like...it's not just up to the employer what happens in the household, so, ja, but I mean, conversations around domestic work is not something that [inaudible 14:03].

Interviewer: And I know there's quite a history with domestic work in this country, especially with, under apartheid where a lot of women, that was all they were allowed to do. So, has that in any way shaped the way you feel about domestic work today?

Participant 13: No.

Interviewer: Not really?

Participant 13: Like I mean, well, like domestic work these days seems to be, for many people, because we've got a lot of people who are illiterate, at most it is the last, they try to have it as the last option, and...you would not find a youngster, like, thriving or feeling that if I become a domestic worker then you know, I've made it in life – that type of thing. So, it's one of those things that you find that you even get people who are educated that actually go for it, but as the last option if nothing is not coming up. So, as you can see that in their heads they're not thinking that that's the only way to go as a person. They try other avenues and when it doesn't work out, they try what is available.

Interviewer: Would you ever consider hiring a domestic worker?

Participant 13: Yes, I'm getting lazier by the day [laughs]. No, I would, but I would feel, because in the environment that I stay in now, it doesn't feel, I mean I'm renting a granny flat, so it's not really your space because the person has to enter the yard as well and also the fact that I feel that it's very, it's such a small space that I can do anything. Like, I just need my child to be asleep for twenty minutes and everything is done.

Washing the dishes is here, the washing machine is here, *so I wouldn't really need it. I mean, no, but in the future yes, especially if it's a bigger space, bigger rooms, bigger, you know, everything. Then I would definitely, considering my physical disability. But for now I'm an independent woman.*

Interviewer: Okay, and if you...did hire a domestic worker, um, would you be keen on them like helping you with your little girl?

Participant 13: [Inaudible 17:03]

Interviewer: Okay. Do you know what the minimum wage is for domestic workers in the Western Cape?

Participant 13: I assume it's 3.5. I don't know the exact number.

Interviewer: So, it's much less than that. You've got the hourly rate and then a weekly rate and a monthly rate, depending on where you are situated. I actually forgot to bring those numbers with me, but I can show them to you if you like, but...

Participant 13: Okay...cause I know my family friend, I think she gets about R5 000.00, and that's because, obviously, she works that twenty four hour shift and she actually stays in and leaves on Friday's and comes back the Monday morning, so weekends she can go home. So, ja, I would love to see those numbers.

Interviewer: Mm, I'll show them to you. Um...

Participant 13: But you're saying depending on where you are?

Interviewer: So, I know like different, I think the more rural areas you get less, and the more metropolitan areas like the municipality of Cape Town may be more. So, they divide it into Area A and Area B, and I think Area A you're required to pay a domestic worker more. It's not a lot more though.

Participant 13: And Area A, is that the metropolitan?

Interviewer: Ja, so, it's not just the city of Cape Town but it includes a lot of urban areas.

Participant 13: Oh, okay, and is that also because they're considering things such as transport and so forth?

Interviewer: I think maybe, um, but I can, I will, I can double check that for you and then we can see what the differences are. But um, I think it's probably less than R3 000.00, but I don't want to lie to you.

Participant 13: Okay.

Interviewer: Um, so, do you know what other legislations and benefits cover domestic workers?

Participant 13: No, but in the past I've heard of them having to be registered for UIF, and oh, um, in terms of retirement, it seemed, I don't know how it's done now, but it seemed like it was done at the discretion of the employer. So, you would find that if someone had been working there for many years and decides now I'm leaving, they're just leaving as that. So, there's nothing that they're gonna be expecting to be getting out of that.

Interviewer: So, that's what I think the UIF is for.

Participant 13: But I mean the UIF is for a couple of, I mean, a couple of months after being unemployed. But I'm talking in terms of...

Interviewer: Like a pension or something?

Participant 13: Like a pension, ja, even if it's small, I don't think it's something that is always looked at, because I know for my um, specifically my mom, what happened is that her employer, I think ten years before she decided she wanted to retire, they had bought her shares....at, um, what, MTN or... and they bought her shares, and then obviously throughout

the years, and she didn't even know this by the way, through the years, and then she wanted to retire even before she got to 60 years and that's when she found out they were actually putting something together for her. So, obviously when they bought it, it was of a smaller value and it had grown by the time, um, she retired, but I think she was the most paid out of the people, her circle of people working, because some of them, at some point they were coming to her asking how did she do it? And in fact she didn't even like, sign up for anything, it was just that employer felt that there needs to be something when she finally decides that she needs to [retire]. So, I dunno if through the years it's been recognised that nothing is actually being put aside for them.

Interviewer: So, I think, and I will double check this for you as well but I think that if you, as a domestic worker employer you're supposed to put something into the UIF for the domestic worker's retirement. But I've heard from a lot of people that it's very complicated and difficult to do. So, I know some people who decided to go the private route as well and just open up a private pension fund. But I can check that.

Participant 13: Okay.

Interviewer: And then, I think, they weren't always, domestic workers were not always recognised under the employment act, but now they are, that's why they've got a specific sectoral determination that covers them and I think the occupational health and safety act also covers them.

Participant 13: [inaudible 23:15]

Interviewer: Ja, but that's a very interesting point about the, how the UIF actually works and whether domestic workers are actually, by the end of their career, getting anything out of it.

Participant 13: Because I know that, I think the most that you can get, like payment, is over six months, because you must also remember the UIF is for, let's say your contract expires and then obviously you're unemployed for a

certain amount while you're still trying to get back into um, employment. But in terms of pension, obviously if a person um, retires, I don't think six months would be sustainable.

Interviewer: I will double check that, and do you have anything else that you would like to add?

Participant 13: No, not really. Only that um, since, I mean I didn't know that it was, there's actually figures that specify how much should be paid in certain areas, of which I feel I'm not sure what would be that reason for, but I mean, I feel that that is quite unfair because it's not like you paid less in a certain area because you do less work, it's exactly depending on the space. You're doing the same work as the person who's actually working in the more urban areas. So, maybe there should be some thinking around standardising it.

Interviewer: I know that there's been discussion in the news about just bringing out a minimum wage for everyone, I don't know if you've heard about that?

Participant 13: Yes, yes, yes

Interviewer: I don't know, it might be good for domestic workers, but it might not.

Participant 13: Because we still have that um, thing of there's not much of a skill. There's not much, but there's a lot of work.

Interviewer: Yes, ja

Participant 13: [inaudible 25:39] So, maybe if there was a...maybe a standard um, wage, for them that covers domestic workers. Not necessarily putting them in I mean, in the same line as the rest of the other sectors because obviously they'll be looking at the fact that there is not much skills involved. So, I just feel that there shouldn't be any difference within the domestic [inaudible 26:21], cause it just feels like you feel that the

person working in the urban area is more than the one in rural areas, so.

Interviewer: And do you have any words of wisdom coming from you regarding your experience of your mom as a domestic worker?

Participant 13: Oh! Well, I guess my mom was just at the right place at the right time because, I mean, the family that she was working for, I mean, they treated her as family from the start, and it's not very easy these days to actually have that bond because of the fact that you find that people are working for more families. So, that's what they're here for, they're here to work so. Back then the relationship between the employer and the employee was more of a family orientated one. Where they um, they didn't just feel that their responsibility was to pay the salary, but they also, where they could, took care of their kids, and because they knew what they were paying them was not much, they, there were other benefits in the sense of assisting with what is needed for the kids. Whether it's school fees, I mean school related things that are required that they know that I know I'm paying this much, they probably wouldn't be able to pay that. So, they didn't just look at the figure that they had to pay, they also looked at your...

Interviewer: In kind.

Participant 13: Ja. So, I think that is lost through the changes in the sector as well.

Interviewer: Thank you...that was very helpful.

Participant 13: All right, no problem.

Interviewer: I appreciate it.

Appendix D: Interpretations of Interviews

Participant 1

Participant's Employment History

Before providing an analysis of the interview conducted with Participant 1, a brief summary of the participant's domestic worker employment history is given below in order to provide some context.

In the interview, Participant 1 described how he and his wife have had two domestic workers work for them in Cape Town. The first domestic worker was Zimbabwean and was introduced to the couple through a family member. The employment relationship with this domestic worker ended when she moved back to Zimbabwe.

The second domestic worker that worked for the couple still works for them. She is South African and was referred to the couple by a family friend. At the time of the interview, the domestic worker worked for the household two full days a week and had been with the household for approximately five years. The couple had a contract with their domestic worker and paid UIF. At the time of the first interview, the participant and his wife paid their domestic worker R35 an hour. At the time of the second interview, they paid her R38 an hour and she worked for 16 hours a week.

Neither of these two domestic workers lived on the couple's property at any time. The domestic workers each had the same job responsibilities – cleaning, dusting, mopping, ironing and vacuuming – except that the current domestic worker had her hours extended and cooked dinners for the couple for a while.

Before hiring their current domestic worker, the couple did try hiring a few domestic workers through some domestic worker hiring agencies. The couple decided to discontinue using these agencies, however, because they felt that the agencies were exploiting the domestic workers by paying them too little.

Interpretation of Interview

An interpretation of the interview and follow-up interview with Participant 1 is provided below. Analysis of the interviews identified three main themes or areas, namely (1) childhood experiences, (2) government regulation, and (3) lifecycle needs. Analysis also uncovered the sub-themes or causal mechanisms within these areas explaining why the participant chose to employ a part-time domestic worker and whether he would be willing to have a full-time, live-in domestic worker. They also explain how or if government regulation affected the participant's decisions around the wages and hours of his domestic worker.

Theme 1: Childhood Experiences

During the analysis of the interview with Participant 1, it became clear that there were a number of childhood experiences which played a prominent role in shaping his thoughts and feelings around domestic work, even as an adult. Two specific factors stood out: (1) his personal values imparted to him by his parents and (2) the type of relationships he developed with his mother's domestic workers as a child.

Personal values imparted by parents influenced the participant's domestic workers' conditions of employment

When talking about his childhood, Participant 1 pointed out how his parents' political views affected the way he views people, including domestic workers, as an adult. He felt that, because his parents' political views fell left of the political spectrum, he was taught the value of respect. The participant also explained that his mother was a good role model. He felt that the way his mother treated her domestic workers influenced the way he treats his own domestic workers as an adult. This can be seen by the wage which the participant paid his domestic worker. The wage the he paid his domestic worker was heavily influenced by his personal and religious values which he picked up as a child. (This will be covered in more detail under the sections below.)

Childhood relationship with domestic worker influenced the participant's current relationship with his domestic worker

When talking about his childhood, Participant 1 pointed out that the relationships he developed with his childhood domestic workers affected what he looks for in domestic workers as an adult. As a child, he was expected to obey his mother's domestic workers who

were given the responsibility of looking after him. The participant also described how he developed a very close bond with one of his mother's domestic workers. This particular domestic worker carried him on her back for the first two years of his life. His bond with this particular domestic worker was so strong, that when he was older, he remembered crying after the family received a letter from the domestic worker telling them that she had broken her arm. He explained that, because this domestic worker played such a prominent role in his upbringing, he would consider having a domestic worker double up as an au pair for his future children. He would also be willing to consider having a domestic worker live in the house with the family.

It is clear that the participant's personal values which were developed during childhood as well as the relationships formed with his childhood domestic workers have influenced his thoughts and motivations surrounding the employment of domestic workers as an adult. These two factors can be viewed as causal mechanisms behind the participant's decisions around payment of his domestic worker and his desire to have a live-in domestic worker as an au-pair for his children one day. This is particularly important to note because these two motivating factors – personal values and the participant's relationship with his childhood domestic worker – seem to play a more powerful role in the participant's employment practices relating to domestic workers than government regulations around domestic workers do. This will be explored further under the next section.

Theme 2: Government Regulation

During both interviews with Participant 1, the researcher probed the participant to find out how or if government regulation affected his domestic workers hours, and wages.

Personal values influenced domestic workers' wages

The wages of the participant's domestic worker were influenced more by his personal and religious values than by government regulations. Three reasons for this conclusion can be given. Firstly, the participant and his wife paid their domestic worker more than the minimum wage at the time of both interviews. The participant also stated that he would be willing to pay his domestic worker a maximum of R4,000 a month which was far above the minimum wage at the time of the interview. Secondly, the participant made it clear in both interviews that he and his wife felt that it was important to pay their domestic worker a living wage, not

just the minimum wage. To them, this meant that their domestic worker should receive a salary which would ensure that she and her family were able to have enough to eat as well as to cope economically in other areas of life. The participant stressed this point in the first interview by explaining that he and his wife based their domestic worker's salary on academic research. This research helped them to understand how much a domestic worker with a partner who also works would need to earn in order to survive economically. Thirdly, the participant and his wife had decided to stop using an agency to hire a domestic worker because the agency was only paying their domestic worker a small amount of the fees he and his wife were giving to the agency. They felt that this was exploitation which they did not want to support.

Government regulations and lifecycle needs influenced domestic worker's hours

While the wage the participant was willing to pay his domestic worker was heavily influenced by personal values, her hours were influenced by other factors. At first, her hours were influenced by government regulations. The participant explained that when he and his wife first employed their domestic worker, they employed her for only 24 hours a month in order to avoid legislation. However, when they realised that they needed to employ their domestic worker for more than 24 hours a month, they increased her hours substantially (this will be discussed in the section below). They also then complied with government regulations by having a written contract and paying into her UIF. The participant explained, however, that if the minimum wage was raised very high, he and his wife would reduce the hours of their domestic worker, but keep paying her the same salary.

This all shows that the wage the participant paid his domestic worker was influenced by his values, while the hours of his domestic worker were influenced by both lifecycle needs and government regulations.

Lifecycle Needs

Household employment affected domestic worker's hours and duties

The participant described how his current domestic worker's conditions of employment had changed over the years she had worked for the household. The domestic worker's hours were extended from half a day, to once a week, to two full days a week. One of the reasons that the

participant gave for this was the fact that he went from being a full time student to working full time. This meant he had less time for house work than he previously had. The participant felt that he and his wife both had “fairly taxing” work hours. Not only did they increase their domestic worker’s hours because of this, but they also asked her to cook dinners for them.

The participant also explained that his domestic worker worked for two other employees. This may also, therefore, have affected the decision to hire her for two days a week and not more.

The health of the family affected the domestic worker’s duties

The participant’s domestic worker did not continue to cook dinners for the participant and his wife. This was affected by their health. He explained that he and his wife changed their diet because their energy levels were too low. They therefore decided to eat food with a lower Glycaemic Index.

Size of house affected domestic worker’s hours and live-out status

Another reason given by the participant for extending the domestic worker’s hours was that when they moved, they moved into a bigger house. The participant’s new property was 960 square meters. The house and the garden flat together were 196 square meters. The house itself had three bedrooms, two bathrooms, a kitchen, a scullery, a lounge and a dining room.

The participant also explained that one of the reasons that his domestic worker did not live in his house was because he felt it could not accommodate his domestic worker’s family of four. However, although the house was larger, the participant and his wife did not ask their domestic worker to live in the house with them. This was due to the fact that they had other tenants living in the house with them.

Finances affected the domestic worker’s live-out status

The decision not to have the domestic worker live on the household’s property also seemed to be motivated by the household’s financial obligations. The participant described how he and his wife rent out their garden flat to pay off their house’s bond. Having a live-in domestic worker would mean that they could not obtain income for their house’s bond this way.

Children may affect the domestic worker's hours and duties

The participant described how the type of work which the household's domestic worker does as well as her living arrangements could change if the couple were to have children. He explained that he would consider asking his domestic worker to live on the household's property, work as an au pair and teach his children isiXhosa. This sentiment is directly linked to the participant's childhood experiences of his mother's domestic workers. These experiences are described in more detail under the section "Childhood Experiences" above. If this were to happen, the participant would increase the domestic worker's hours and wages. However, this would be dependent of the domestic worker's willingness to leave her other employers and work for the participant's family full-time. It would also depend on whether the participant's mother would be living on his property or not (see section below).

Having extended family live with the participant would affect decisions around having a live-in domestic worker

While the participant stated that he was willing to have a domestic worker live on his property if he were to have children, this decision would be affected by the fact that his mother was going to start living in his garden flat. Because of this, he and his wife may increase the days of his current domestic worker while not have her stay on their property. They may even decide to hire a separate au pair.

It is clear that Participant 1's household lifecycle needs directly impact his employment relationship with his domestic worker. They can be seen as causal mechanisms behind the decisions the household makes regarding their domestic worker's hours and whether she lives on their property or not.

Participant 2

Participant's Employment History

Before providing an analysis of the interview conducted with Participant 1, a brief summary of the participant's domestic worker employment history is given below in order to provide some context.

Participant 2 explained that since she moved to Cape Town, she has had three domestic workers, including her current domestic worker, work for her. Their duties have all included cleaning, ironing, packing away laundry, changing the bedding, unpacking the dishwasher and cleaning outside. None of these domestic workers have lived on the property she and her husband rent. One of the previous domestic workers that worked for her was Zimbabwean and the other was a South African citizen. At the time of the first interview, her domestic worker was a South African. None of the domestic workers that worked for her were hired through a company.

Participant 2's domestic worker was referred to the household through another domestic worker in the apartment's complex. At the time of the interview, the household's domestic worker had worked for them for less than a year. At first, the household hired her one day worker was employed every two weeks. The Participant's parents also did the same. When the participant's parents left the country, the participant and her husband decided to hire her one day a week. The hours of the participant's domestic worker were from 8:00 – 13:00. The couple paid the domestic worker R200 a day. They did not contribute towards the domestic worker's pension or UIF. They also did not provide the domestic worker with official sick leave. They did, however, provide payment in-kind by giving the domestic worker food and money to help compensate when she was sick and could not come in to work. There was no written contract between the domestic worker and the couple.

Interpretation of Interview

An interpretation of the interview and follow-up interview with Participant 2 is provided below. Analysis of the interviews identified three main themes or areas, namely (1) childhood experiences, (2) government regulation, and (3) lifecycle needs. Analysis also uncovered the sub-themes or causal mechanisms within these areas explaining why the participant chose to

employ a part-time domestic worker and whether she would be willing to have a full-time, live-in domestic worker. They also explain how or if government regulation affected the participant's decisions around the wages and hours of her domestic worker.

Theme 1: Childhood Experiences

Childhood relationship with domestic worker influenced the participant's willingness to one day hire a full-time, live-in domestic worker

While Participant 2 did not have a full-time, live-in domestic worker at the time of the interview, she made it clear that she would consider employing someone in this capacity at some point in her life. She attributed this openness to having a full-time, live-in domestic worker to her experience of having a live-in domestic worker at home as a child.

Theme 2: Government Regulation

During the interviews with Participant 2, the researcher probed the participant to find out how or if government regulation affected the decisions which she and her husband had made concerning their domestic worker. In order for government regulations to have an effect on behaviour, however, it is necessary for the participant to have knowledge of these regulations. The participant had previously looked up the minimum wage for her domestic worker and knew that her household was paying her more than the minimum wage. She also knew that employers of full-time domestic workers should be paying towards the domestic worker's UIF. She had not, however, looked up whether she was legally required to have a written contract with her part-time domestic worker or not. The fact that the participant paid her domestic worker above the minimum wage suggests that there were factors other than government regulations which influenced her decision to pay her R200 a day. This is discussed in the section below. The factors influencing her decision to hire her one day a week are also discussed below.

Reasons behind the domestic worker's wage

The wages of the participant's domestic worker were influenced by factors other than government regulations. Firstly, the participant's own values and feelings influenced the wage she paid her domestic worker. The participant explained that at the time, she felt her domestic worker's wage was fair because she did not work a full day. She also felt it was fair

because her domestic worker was receiving the same money for working a full day at another employer's larger apartment. The participant also explained that her household felt "*personally responsible*" for their domestic worker, paid her more than the minimum wage, took her transport costs into consideration, tried to compensate with extra food and/or money when she was off sick, would communicate with the other households who employed her to ensure that she was looked after and sometimes paid her extra by giving her food and personal belongings. Secondly, the participant's finances influenced the wage she paid her domestic worker. While the participant felt that the minimum wage for a domestic worker who completes a full day's work should be R300, she was not able to pay this at the time. Thirdly, the participant's domestic worker influenced her own wage by asking for R200 a day.

Reasons behind the domestic worker's hours

The hours of the participant's domestic worker were also influenced by factors other than government regulations, namely finances and lifecycle needs. The participant felt that if she were to hire a full-time domestic worker, she would want to pay him or her between R4,500 and R5,000 a month. She would, however, need a better income before being able to do this. The participant's lifecycle needs which affected her domestic worker's hours will be discussed in the section below.

Theme 3: Household Lifecycle Needs

One of the key factors behind the participant's decisions regarding her domestic worker's hours, duties, live-out status and wages was the household's lifecycle needs.

Owning a house or apartment would affect the domestic worker's hours

One of the reasons Participant 1 had a part-time domestic worker was because she and her husband were renting their apartment. The participant stated that she would not consider having a full-time, live-in domestic worker while she and her husband were renting a house or apartment.

The size of the participant's apartment affected the domestic worker's hours

While the main reason for not hiring their domestic worker full-time was because of finances, the size of the participant's apartment also affected the domestic worker's part-time status and her hours. The participant explained that her apartment had two bedrooms and, including the balcony, was 60 square meters. She felt that because her apartment was small, it was not necessary to extend her domestic worker's hours. It is important to note that the participant stated that she would be willing to hire a full-time, live-in domestic worker if she and her husband stayed in a larger house or apartment. However, this decision would also be influenced by finances and whether or not they owned the house or apartment, as was discussed in the section above. She would also not want her domestic worker to live in the house with the family, but have her own place on the property. This would ensure that she does not feel like she is "living at her job".

Having children would not affect the domestic worker's hours or duties

Unlike Participant 1, Participant 2 stated that, if she and her husband were to have children, she would not hire a domestic worker to look after them. Participant 1 explained that having a domestic worker that looks after one's children is a liability because she is not trained.

Participant 3

Participant's Employment History

Before providing an analysis of the interview conducted with Participant 3, a brief summary of the participant's domestic worker employment history is given below in order to provide some context.

Participant 3 only started hiring domestic workers when her children were born. When the participant's children were babies, her domestic workers' duties included cleaning and looking after the children. This included giving them their bottles. When the babies grew older, the participant sent them to day care and the domestic worker stopped looking after them. While the participant's children grew up and continued living with her, she employed full-time, live-in domestic workers. These domestic workers lived outside the house in their own little apartment. By the time her children stopped living with the participant as adults, she had employed around six domestic workers. When her children left home, she moved into a slightly smaller house and began to employ a part-time domestic worker who did not stay on the property.

Most of Participant 3's domestic workers had no written contracts. The participant did contribute towards two of her part-time domestic workers' UIF and provided them with sick leave and holidays.

At the time of the interview, Participant 3's current domestic worker worked full-time from 9:30 each day until 13:30 with a 30 – 40 minute break. This domestic worker had been with the household for at least 5 years but did not live on their property. The household did have a written contract with the domestic worker, contributed towards her UIF, paid her R 2 200 a month and were fully compliant with the law regarding their domestic worker. The domestic worker was a South African citizen and stayed in Khayelitsha, Cape Town. Her duties consisted of cleaning, doing the washing and keeping an eye on the participant's dog. She did not cook for the household. The participant's domestic worker was referred to the household through another domestic worker who worked at the participant's place of employment.

Interpretation of Interview

An interpretation of the interview and follow-up interview with Participant 3 is provided below. Analysis of the interviews identified one main themes or area, namely: lifecycle needs. Analysis also uncovered the sub-themes or causal mechanisms within this area, explaining why the participant chose to employ a part-time domestic worker.

Lifecycle Needs

During analysis of the interview with Participant 3, it became clear that the participant's household lifecycle needs played a major role in the hours that her various domestic workers worked for her.

Having children influenced the domestic worker's hours and duties

Having children in the house with her influenced her decision to have live-in, full-time domestic workers earlier in her life. When her children were babies, her domestic worker's duties included giving them their bottles and looking after them. When the children were older, the participant sent them to day care and the domestic worker was not expected to look after them anymore. When the participant's children left home, she began to hire part-time domestic workers who did not live on her property. She felt the house was easier to keep clean once her children left home and therefore did not feel the need to employ a full-time domestic worker.

Household employment and owning pets influenced the domestic worker's hours and duties

During the interview, the participant explained that the household decided to employ their current domestic worker full time from 9:30 – 13:30 because of the couple's dog. When Participant 3 changed jobs, she was no longer able to take her dog to work with her. Because of this, the couple had to leave the dog at home while both Participant 3 and her husband were at work. The couple needed to leave the house open so the dog could go outside, and therefore needed someone to be at the house while they were not there.

Comparison with Participant 1 and 2

During the interview with Participant 3, the researcher probed the participant to find out how, or if, her childhood experiences affected the decisions which she makes concerning her

domestic workers. Unlike Participant 1, Participant 3 did not clearly connect her employment practices with her current domestic worker to her childhood experiences.

The researcher also probed the participant to find out how, or if, government regulation affected the decisions which she and her husband made concerning their domestic worker. In order for government regulations to have an effect on an employer's behaviour, however, it is necessary for the employer to have knowledge of these regulations. It became clear, however, that the participant had very little knowledge of the legislations and policies covering domestic workers because her husband dealt with the legal and contractual side of the employment relationship. While the participant was able to explain that the household is fully compliant with the law, she was not able to provide information as to how or if government regulation such as the minimum wage had, in fact, influenced the decisions made around the household domestic worker's conditions of employment such as the domestic workers hours.

Participant 4

Participant's Employment History

Before providing an analysis of the interview conducted with Participant 4, a brief summary of the participant's domestic worker employment history is given below in order to provide some context.

During the interview Participant 4 explained that he hired his current domestic worker when she knocked on his door and asked for a job. Participant 4's current domestic worker does not regularly work for him. Rather, as he is often away from home on business, he will call her when he needs her to come in. When he is at home, his domestic worker usually comes in every second week. She usually works from 9:00 – 17:00. Participant 4 does not have a contract with his current domestic worker. He pays her R300 a day and gives her a meal and other personal belongings such as old clothes, curtains etc.

Participant 4 described how he has had other domestic workers work for him in the past (including his mother's domestic worker). He did not have written contracts with any of these domestic workers. None of these domestic workers. He has also used a cleaning services company twice in his life when he moved out of his old apartment and into his new house. He was not happy with the quality of work, however, and would not use a cleaning services company again.

Life Cycle Needs

Theme definition: The household lifecycle needs describes how a household or participant's lifecycle needs affect's the domestic worker's conditions of employment.

Subthemes:

- Household employment: describes how employment of the household members affects the domestic worker's conditions of employment.
- Family: describes how having a family may affect the domestic worker's conditions of employment.

Analysis of the interview with Participant 4 showed that one main factor seemed to influence the participant's current employment relationship with his domestic worker, namely his own job requirements. During the interview, Participant 4 explained that because he is often away from home for work, he hires his domestic worker's services infrequently. He explained that he would consider getting a full-time domestic worker, even potentially a live-in domestic worker, if he had a family. This shows that the participant's lifecycle needs play a prominent role in the decisions he makes around whether to hire a full-time or part-time domestic worker.

Comparison with Other Participants

During the interview with Participant 4, the researcher probed the participant to find out how, or if, his childhood experiences affected the decisions which he makes concerning his domestic worker. Unlike Participant 1, Participant 4 did not connect his employment practices with his current domestic worker to his childhood experiences, except for the quality of work he expects from his current domestic worker.

The researcher also probed the participant to find out how, or if, government regulation affected the decisions which he made concerning his domestic worker. In order for government regulation to have an effect on an employer's behaviour, however, it is necessary for the employer to have knowledge of these regulations. Unlike Participant 1 and 2, Participant 4 had almost no knowledge of the legislations and policies covering domestic workers. The participant seemed to base his idea of a 'good fee' for a domestic worker off his comparison with what other people pay their domestic workers. This shows that other factors influence the participant's decisions around his domestic worker's wage and conditions of employment. More probing needs to be done to find out why government legislation has no influence on this participant's employment relationship with his domestic worker.

Potential Follow-Up Questions

- What inspired Participant 4 to pay his domestic worker R300 a day?
- Why is Participant 4 away from home so often?
- How easy does Participant 4 think it is to find and understand the legislation surrounding domestic workers?

Participant 5

Participant's Employment History

Before providing an analysis of the interview conducted with Participant 5, a brief summary of the participant's domestic worker employment history is given below in order to provide some context.

Participant 5's domestic worker was referred to the family through family friends. She lived on the family's property. She worked from 8:00 – 16:00 every Monday to Friday and half a day on Saturdays. Once a month she had the full weekend off. The participant's domestic worker lived in a room outside the participant's house. She had alternative accommodation in Cape Town which she could share with relatives and friends on weekends. The participant felt that there were no specific reasons why her domestic worker opted to stay on her property than stay elsewhere. Her duties included cleaning, washing and ironing, but no cooking. She did not look after the participant's children, as they were old enough to look after themselves. She was Zimbabwean and at the time of the interview had a work permit which she continually had to reapply for. At the time of the interview, the family did not have a written contract with the domestic worker and Participant 5 explained that she was not able to pay towards their domestic worker's UIF.

Participant 5 had a number of other domestic workers which worked for her in the past. Before Participant 5's family moved to Cape Town, the participant's childhood domestic worker worked for the family in Gauteng. When the participant's children were little, this domestic worker helped with child sitting the participant's little boy in the afternoons. When her little boy was old enough to go to playschool, the domestic worker stopped looking after him. She did not, however, look after the little girl. The little girl was sent to pre-school and was looked after by her granny. The participant explained that the grandmother would have also looked after the little boy, but she had back problems. This was why the domestic worker looked after him.

When the family moved to Cape Town, the participant had a number of other domestic workers work for the family full-time, but Participant 5 was not happy with these domestic workers. One of the domestic workers was not happy with the size of the family's house, while the others were either described as being unreliable or as not providing good quality

work. None of the family's previous domestic workers lived on the family's property, but they were provided with written contracts and UIF.

Interpretation of Interview

An interpretation of the interview and follow-up interview with Participant 2 is provided below. Analysis of the interviews identified three main themes or areas, namely (1) childhood experiences, (2) government regulation, and (3) lifecycle needs. Analysis also uncovered the sub-themes or causal mechanisms within these areas explaining why the participant chose to employ a full-time, live-in domestic worker. They also explain how or if government regulation affected the participant's decisions around the wages, hours and live-in status of her domestic worker.

Theme 1: Childhood Experiences

During the analysis of the interview with Participant 5, it became clear that her childhood experiences played a prominent role in shaping her thoughts and feelings around domestic work, even as an adult. One specific factor stood out – the type of relationships she developed with her family's domestic workers as a child.

Childhood relationship with domestic worker influenced the participant's current relationship with his domestic worker

When asked why the participant's family wanted a domestic worker who lived on their property, Participant 5 gave two reasons: (1) Participant 5 described how her childhood domestic worker lived on her family's property when she was a child. She felt that this domestic worker was part of the family, although it disturbed her as an adult that the domestic worker was not allowed to sit at the table and eat with the family. She explained that, because of her experience as a child, she wanted her own household to employ a domestic worker who could be part of the family and feel comfortable eating at the table with them; (2) Participant 5 explained that she wanted to have someone else to do all the housework so that her hands could be free.

It is clear that Participant 5's childhood experiences impacted her decision to have a live-in domestic worker as did her desire to have her hands free, something which will be elaborated on below.

Theme 2: Government Regulation

Personal values and relationship with domestic worker affect the domestic worker's conditions of employment

At the time of the interview, Participant 5 did not have a written contract with her domestic worker and explained that the family was not able to pay towards UIF for their domestic worker because she was not a South African citizen. The participant did not know what the minimum wage was, but was paying her domestic worker R 5,300 a month – far above the minimum wage. She also confirmed that the family's domestic worker was provided with sick leave and holidays.

During analysis of the interview with Participant 5, it became clear that the participant's **personal values and personal relationship** with her domestic worker played an important role in determining the employment relationship between her and her domestic worker. While the participant was more or less up to date regarding the legislation around domestic workers when her household had South African domestic workers working for them, the participant was not aware of whether the same rules apply to foreign domestic workers or not. She was also not aware of what the minimum wage was for domestic workers at the time. The participant's personal values and personal relationship with her domestic worker, therefore, played more of a role in her employment relationship with the household's domestic worker than government legislation.

It is important to note that having a foreign domestic worker could possibly have been influenced by the family's previous experience with their domestic worker in Gauteng, although the participant stated that this was not the case. When the family moved from Gauteng to Cape Town, they were not aware that they were supposed to pay their domestic worker a severance package. Their domestic worker then sued them for not paying her this. The participant explained that because of this experience, she has since been very conscious about the regulations surrounding her domestic workers. It is possible that this experience may have affected the household's decision to hire a foreign domestic worker. While the same rules that apply to South African domestic workers actually do apply to foreign domestic workers too, the participant did not seem to know this.

Theme 3: Lifecycle Needs

Having children affected the domestic worker's duties but not her hours and live-in status

During the interview, Participant 5 described how the family's domestic worker in Gauteng helped the family by looking after the participant's son when he was small. When the participant's children were older, however, the new live-in domestic worker in Cape Town was not expected to look after the children. It is important to note that having children affected the family's domestic workers' duties, but not her hours or live-in status.

The desire to have her hands free influenced the live-in status of the participant's domestic worker

One of the main motivating factors behind Participant 5's desire to have a live-in domestic worker (other than her childhood experiences) seemed to be her desire to have her hands free. The participant re-enforced this sentiment by explaining that the reason for the domestic worker's hours and live-in status is because it suites the family best and is 'just easier' and 'comfortable'. She explained that it was easier to have a domestic worker living on her property because she did not need to travel, she did not need to pay extra money for accommodation elsewhere, and she was on-call for extra tasks the household may need such as looking after the dogs.

The size of the house influenced the full-time, live-in status of the domestic worker

During the interview, the Participant explained that one of the household's previous domestic workers did not want to continue working for them because she felt the house was too big. This along with the desire to have her hands free suggests that the size of the house was a motivating factor behind having a full-time, live-in domestic worker. The participant's house was a double storey house with four bedrooms, one study, a linen room, a laundry room, three bathrooms, two extra toilets, a braai room, three TV rooms, a dining room and a kitchen.

Personal Values

Personal values influenced who the participant hired as a full-time, live-in domestic worker

During the interview, the participant described how her religious values played a role in her decision to hire her current domestic worker. She was happy with her domestic worker

because she was a Christian. This shows that religion can play a role in people's decisions to hire live-in domestic workers, as this is a much more intimate type of employment relationship than part-time, live-out domestic workers.

Conclusion

Like Participant 1, Participant 5's childhood experiences impacted her employment relationship with her domestic worker. Specifically, it impacted her decision to have a live-in domestic worker. Her desire to have her hands free also influenced her decision to have a live-in domestic worker. Lifecycle needs such as having children affected the households' domestic workers' duties and it is also possible that the participant's dwelling type also affected these, although more probing needs to be done. The participant's religious values played a role in the participant's decision to hire her current domestic worker. Like Participant 1, Participant 5's personal values and personal relationship with her current domestic worker played more of a role in her domestic worker's conditions of employment than government legislation did. It is important to note, however, that this may have been affected by the fact that the household's domestic worker was foreign.

Participant 6

Participant's Employment History

Before providing an analysis of the interview conducted with Participant 6, a brief summary of the participant's domestic worker employment history is given below in order to provide some context.

At the time of the interview, participant 6 had a domestic worker work for his family twice a week – every Wednesday and Saturday. The participant came to hire this domestic worker through a friend, who had previously employed her full time. Participant 6 explained that he felt he was 'borrowing' her domestic worker's services for the two days a week that she worked for his family. The duties of this domestic worker included cleaning the windows, and floors, vacuuming, sweeping, ironing and mopping and did not include cooking or doing the laundry. Participant 6 paid this domestic worker R200 a day which was based on what his friend, mentioned above, paid her. He also provided her with food on the days that she worked for his family. He did not, however, have a written contract with the domestic worker and did not contribute towards her UIF. She did not live on the family's property. Participant 6 explained that he would provide his domestic worker with an annual increase after discussing it with his friend mentioned above.

Participant 6 had approximately four domestic workers work for him before his current domestic worker (at the time of the interview). None of these employers lived on his property. The participant's family had written contracts with these domestic workers and paid towards their UIF because, at their time of employment, they worked full-time. All of the previous domestic workers left the family to go back to the Eastern Cape. However, one of the participant's previous domestic workers reportedly stole from the family. The participant did not explain whether this domestic worker was dismissed or how the situation was handled. All of the participant's domestic workers, except for this particular domestic worker, were recommended to the family through personal connections.

Interpretation of Interview

An interpretation of the interview and follow-up interview with Participant 6 is provided below. Analysis of the interviews identified two main themes or areas, namely (1)

government regulation, and (2) lifecycle needs. Analysis also uncovered the sub-themes or causal mechanisms within these areas explaining why the participant chose to employ a part-time domestic worker and whether he would be willing to have a full-time, live-in domestic worker. They also explain how or if government regulation affected the participant's decisions around the wages and hours of his domestic worker.

Theme 1: Government Regulation

During the first interview, the participant stated that he did not have a formal contract with his domestic worker. His reasons for this were twofold. Firstly, he did not feel it necessary because he felt that she worked for him part-time. Secondly, he felt that his friend actually employed his domestic worker full-time and he was only 'borrowing' the domestic worker's services from her. The second point will be discussed under the next section.

Many of the participants which have been interviewed for this thesis are not up to date on the regulations and minimum wages covering their domestic workers. There specifically seemed to be some confusion around what regulations cover part-time domestic workers, such as whether to have a written contract with your part-time domestic worker or not. This is true of participant 6.

Sectoral Determination 7 does not clearly differentiate between part-time and full-time domestic workers, except when it comes to domestic workers' wages and UIF. This leads one to assume that part-time domestic workers are included under the regulations provided. This could be interpreted to mean that, because employers are required by law to provide their domestic workers with the written particulars of employment (a written contract) and because Sectoral Determination 7 does not differentiate between part-time and full-time domestic workers, part-time domestic workers should be provided with a written contract. However, participant 6, along with many other participants which were interviewed, was under the impression that he was not required to have a written contract with his part-time domestic worker.

In addition to the above, Participant 6 was not aware of the other legislation covering his domestic worker and did not know what the minimum wage was at the time for domestic workers. The participant's lack knowledge regarding the minimum wage and government

regulations covering domestic workers shows that he had other motivating factors behind his domestic worker's wages and hours. These factors are dealt with below.

Relationship with peers and finances as a motivating factor behind the domestic worker's wage

As stated above, the wage of the participant's domestic worker was influenced by factors other than government regulation. The main factor which influenced Participant 6's wage for his domestic worker was his relationship with the friend from whom he 'borrowed' his domestic worker's services. In the interview, the participant explained that he paid his domestic worker R200 a day because that was the wage his friend paid her. He explained that he would decide on his domestic worker's annual increase after discussing it with this friend. He also explained that one of the reasons he did not have a written contract with his domestic worker was because (1) his friend (mentioned above) employed the domestic worker full-time, and (2) he felt that he was only 'borrowing' her domestic worker's services.

The participant's household finances also affected the domestic worker's wages. The participant felt that, while his domestic worker was worth more than R200 a day, it was an amount which he could afford and increase if necessary. When asked how much he felt the minimum wage should be, he stated that the minimum monthly wage for a full-time domestic worker should be between R4,000 and R5,000 and the daily wage for a part-time domestic worker should be between R250 and R300. He also stated that he would be willing to pay up to R350 a day if the minimum wage were raised.

Finances were a motivating factor behind the domestic worker's wage

The hours of the participant's domestic worker were also influenced partly by finances rather than government regulations. The participant did not feel that he could afford to hire his domestic worker more than twice a week.

Theme 2: Lifecycle Needs

Having children affected the hours of the participant's domestic worker

Having children affected the hours of Participant 6's domestic workers throughout his life. He explained that, when his children were younger, he and his former wife had a domestic

worker who worked for the family full-time. Although his former wife did not have a job at the time, the domestic worker's duties included cleaning and caring for the children. She prepared their bottles when they were babies, prepared and packed lunches for them when they were older, made sure the eating area in the house was clean, and sometimes cooked dinner for the family.

At the time of the interviews, the participant was married to his second wife and his children were 19 and 20 years old. While he wanted his children to do household chores, they did not do the chores they were supposed to do. He and his wife therefore hired their domestic worker to do the work he felt his children should be doing. He explained that he did not hire her more than twice a week because he felt that twice a week was enough for the domestic worker to be doing the chores he felt that his children should actually be doing.

The size of the house affected the domestic worker's hours

Finally, the size of the participant's house that he was renting also affected the hours that the participant's domestic worker worked. The participant's family stayed in a three bedroom house with two bathrooms, a double garage and a yard. The property did not have a garden flat or room. The participant explained that the household's domestic worker did not live on the property (1) because the house was too small and (2) because having a domestic worker was a grudge purchase for him. He also felt that having the domestic worker in twice a week was enough to keep the house clean. He did state, however, that if everyone in the house was working and the house was large enough, he would consider having a live-in domestic worker. If this were the case and the house they were staying in had a flat attached to it, he would let the domestic worker live there. If it did not, he would let her live in the house. The fact that he was renting a house would not affect this decision in any way.

Participant 7

Participant's Employment History

Before providing an analysis of the interview conducted with Participant 7, a brief summary of the participant's domestic worker employment history is given below in order to provide some context.

At the time of the interview, Participant 7 did not have a domestic worker working for her, but had employed a domestic worker previously. This domestic worker was male and from Malawi. Participant 7 employed him on a part-time basis after she had a back operation. He did not have specific days which he would assist the participant. Rather, she would call him as she felt she needed his help. His duties included general cleaning and excluded ironing, laundry and cooking. He would work for a maximum of four hours a day for R250.00. Because the participant called the domestic worker as she needed him, she did not have a written contract with him, he did not have sick leave or holidays, and she did not pay towards UIF. Participant 7's domestic worker worked for her for around two months. This was the only domestic worker Participant 7 had ever personally hired.

Interpretation of Interview

An interpretation of the interview with Participant 8 is provided below. Analysis of the interview identified two main themes or areas namely (1) government regulation and (2) lifecycle needs. Analysis also uncovered the sub-themes or causal mechanisms within these areas explaining why the participant chose to employ a part-time domestic worker and eventually no domestic worker at all. They also explain how or if government regulation affected her decisions around the wages she paid her domestic worker.

Theme 1: Government Regulation

The desire to pay a living wage vs the minimum wage

When asked why she had chosen not to hire a domestic worker again, Participant 7 explained that it would be too expensive, even to hire someone part-time. She felt that the "new" legislation which states that you have to pay UIF would add extra costs to having a domestic worker. She also stated that her reasons for not hiring a domestic worker were not due to her

personal values. However, it is important to note that when the participant was asked whether she knew what the minimum wage was, she did not know what it was. In addition, the wage she paid her previous domestic worker was above the minimum wage. This shows that the wage she paid her domestic worker was motivated by factors other than legislation.

Participant 7 explained that she paid her domestic worker R250 for four hours of work because she felt he “deserved it”. She also stated that if she were to hire a domestic worker again, she would pay him or her at least six to seven thousand rand a month. She would pay this much because she felt the cost of living, including food, housing, schooling, medical aid etc. in Cape Town is high. It is clear therefore that although Participant 7 indicated that she did not want to hire a domestic worker because legislation would make it too expensive; her personal values were the real motivational factors behind her hiring practices. These included the wages she paid her previous domestic worker and her decision not to hire a domestic worker at the time of the interview.

Theme 2: Lifecycle Needs

Recovery from an operation and the decision to hire a domestic worker

Participant 7's decision to hire her previous domestic worker was motivated by her having a back operation. She decided to hire her previous domestic worker to help her in the house while she recovered.

Participant 8

Participant's Employment History

Before providing an analysis of the interview conducted with Participant 8, a brief summary of the participant's domestic worker employment history is given below in order to provide some context.

At the time of the interview, Participant 8 did not have a domestic worker working for her, but had employed domestic workers previously. Before moving to Cape Town, she had employed two domestic workers in Johannesburg. These two domestic workers worked for her between 1973 and 2010. Both of these domestic workers worked full-time and both worked for long periods of time before leaving to go back to their own homes. They were both South African citizens. The participant described these domestic workers as "part of the family". She described how one of the domestic workers lived in the house with the family and shared their things. Their duties included looking after the participant's children when they were younger, cleaning the house and running the home. The participant did not have written contracts with her domestic workers, but they were given sick leave and holidays. The participant's family did not contribute towards UIF, but they did put aside money for when their domestic workers chose to leave. Participant 8 did not remember the exact amount of money the family paid their domestic workers in Johannesburg, but she stated that it was well above the going rates at the time. The family also provided their domestic workers with payment in kind and would cover medical bills for their domestic workers and their family members. The participant's family helped their domestic workers to build houses in their "homelands" and gave a car to one of their domestic workers.

When the participant and her husband moved to Cape Town, they had one or two part-time domestic workers work for them. Participant 8 did not have written contracts with these domestic workers. These part-time domestic workers would clean the participant's house once a week and sometimes once every two weeks. The participant paid her part-time domestic workers about R350 a day and provided payment in kind. They were provided with breakfast, lunch, tea and coffee and would often go home with food in the evening.

Interpretation of Interview

An interpretation of the interview with Participant 8 is provided below. Analysis of the interview identified three main themes or areas namely (1) government regulation; (2) lifecycle needs; and (3) childhood experiences. Analysis also uncovered the sub-themes or causal mechanisms within these areas explaining why the participant chose to employ part-time, full-time or no domestic workers during her life. They also explain how or if government regulation affected her decisions around the wages she paid her domestic workers.

Theme 1: Government Regulation

Personal values influenced domestic workers' conditions of employment

Analysis of the interview with Participant 8 shows that the wages she paid her domestic workers and her decision to have full-time or part-time domestic workers were motivated by her personal values rather than government regulation. Three reasons for this conclusion are given. Firstly, the participant employed full-time, live-in domestic workers before and after the new legislation in South Africa came into effect. The new legislation did not influence the wages she paid her domestic workers, their hours, or their live-in status. She also did not write up contracts for her domestic workers when the new legislation came into effect. Secondly, the participant paid her part-time domestic workers R350 a day which was above the minimum wage. Thirdly, at the time of the interview, the participant did not know what legislation covers domestic workers or what the minimum wage was. This seemed to be true even when she employed domestic workers.

Financial Constraints influenced current decision not to employ a domestic worker

At the time of the interview, Participant 8 no longer employed any domestic workers. This was due to financial constraints, as she stated that she and her husband were “not in a position” to have a domestic worker. This decision was not motivated by the minimum wage, as the participant did not know what the minimum wage was. Rather, the participant’s idea of what a domestic worker should be paid was based on her personal values rather than government regulation, as was expounded on in the section above.

Theme 2: Lifecycle Needs

Participant 8's lifecycle needs also motivated her to either employ part-time or full-time domestic workers or not to hire domestic workers at all. These needs hinged around household employment and the participant's children.

Household Employment and Children influenced full-time/part-time status of domestic workers

Participant 8 explained that one of the duties her full-time domestic workers had was to help raise her children, especially when she was at work. She wanted her domestic workers to look after her children instead of sending them to crèche. When she moved to Cape Town with her husband, she did not need full-time domestic workers because her children were adults and did not stay with them anymore. Thus, they hired one or two part-time domestic workers. Having children and having a job were motivating factors behind hiring full-time domestic workers in Johannesburg for Participant 8.

Theme 3: Childhood Experiences

Type of relationship with childhood domestic workers influenced domestic workers' condition of employment

Another reason for the participant's desire to hire full-time, live-in domestic workers when her children were still living with her and her husband stemmed from her childhood experiences. Participant 8 explained that, as a child, her family's domestic worker also lived in their house and was included as part of the family. This is what she did with her domestic workers later on in life.

Participant 9

Participant's Employment History

Before providing an analysis of the interview conducted with Participant 7, a brief summary of the participant's domestic worker employment history is given below in order to provide some context.

At the time of the interview, Participant 9 did not have a domestic worker working for her, but had previously employed domestic workers. In 1989, when her twins were born, she employed two domestic workers who had different shifts. At the time, the participant lived with her partner and both she and her partner were employed. Both domestic workers worked for her until 2008 when her children left home. She then moved to Hout Bay and started living on her own.

Both domestic workers that worked for Participant 9 were female, South African citizens. The one domestic worker worked for four days a week while the other worked for three days a week. They each worked for about 7 hours a day. They did not stay on the participant's property. The duties of the one domestic worker were cleaning and ironing, while second domestic worker looked after the children. Sometimes Participant 9's domestic workers cooked for the family. As the participant's children grew, her domestic workers' duties changed.

The participant had written contracts with her domestic workers as well as pensions. She also paid UIF and provided them with sick leave and holidays. The participant could not remember exactly how much she paid her domestic workers. She did think that she paid them above the minimum wage, however. The participant explained that, when setting her domestic workers' minimum wages, she took the various costs that affected them such as transport and how they could survive into consideration. Participant 9 remembered providing them with annual increases, and she remembered paying the domestic worker who was working for four days a week about R3500 a month by 2008. By this time, her other domestic worker had decided to work for only two days a week, and Participant 9 paid her a daily rate. Apart from cash, the participant also provided her domestic workers with payment in kind such as food and furniture and appliances that she no longer wanted.

Interpretation of Interview

An interpretation of the interview with Participant 9 is provided below. Analysis of the interview identified two main themes or areas namely (1) government regulation and (2) lifecycle needs. Analysis also uncovered the sub-themes or causal mechanisms within these areas explaining why the participant chose to employ part-time domestic workers or no domestic workers during her life. These causal mechanisms also explain how or if government regulation affected Participant 9's decisions around the wages she paid her domestic workers.

Theme 1: Government Regulation

Personal values influenced wages of participant's domestic workers

Unlike many of the participants interviewed for this thesis, Participant 9 was aware of the regulations around domestic work at the time that she employed her domestic workers. However, similar to most participants, analysis of the interview with Participant 9 shows that her decisions to have part-time domestic workers and the wages she paid them were motivated by factors other than government regulations. The wages Participant 9 paid her domestic workers were motivated by her personal values. This can be seen by: (1) the fact that she took the different costs that affected her domestic workers such as transport etc. into consideration when setting their wages; (2) the fact that she paid her one domestic worker far above the minimum wage in 2008; and (3) by her response when asked if she would consider hiring a domestic worker again. The participant explained that, if she were to hire another domestic worker, she would first have to think about whether she could pay the domestic worker enough money for her and her family to live on.

Participant 9's decision to hire two part-time domestic workers in the past was motivated by her lifestyle rather than government regulations and the minimum wages set for domestic workers. Her decision not to hire a domestic worker at the time of the interview was also motivated by her lifestyle rather than government regulations and the minimum wages set for domestic workers. This will be expounded on in the section below.

Theme 2: Lifecycle Needs

As stated above, Participant 9's decision to hire two part-time domestic workers in the past was motivated by her lifecycle needs. These needs hinged around her children and around household employment. Her decision not to hire a domestic worker at the time of the interview was also motivated by her lifestyle. The absence of having children and living on her own motivated her decision not to hire a domestic worker.

Household Employment and Children influenced decision to hire domestic workers

One of the main reasons Participant 9 hired her past domestic workers was because she had children. When her twins were born, she hired both her domestic workers, one of which was specifically hired to be a nanny. Although the other domestic worker's duties included house cleaning rather than childcare, the participant still wanted her to be able to relate well to her children. She stressed that, at the time, she was specifically looking for women who could "relate well to babies and small children".

Household Employment influenced decision to hire domestic workers

Participant 9 also hired both domestic workers because she and her partner were working at the time that her twins were born. She specifically needed them when her maternity leave ended.

The absence of children and living alone influenced current decision not to hire a domestic worker

It is important to note that when Participant 9's children left home and she began living alone, she no longer hired domestic workers, even though she was still working. Her reason for not hiring domestic workers was that she felt she could do her own domestic work easily now that she was alone. Part of the reason for this was because she was away from home a lot. She stated that if she were to hire a domestic worker again, she would have to be incapacitated in some way.

Potential Follow-Up Questions

- Why did the Participant hire two part-time domestic workers instead of one full-time domestic worker?

Participant 10

Participant's Employment History

Before providing an analysis of the interview conducted with Participant 10, a brief summary of the participant's domestic worker employment history is given below in order to provide some context.

At the time of the interview, the participant had a domestic worker staying in the house with him and his family. She had stayed with the family for around six to seven months. She was a Zimbabwean relative and was referred to as the family's 'helper,' rather than domestic worker, by the participant who felt that the term 'domestic worker' was derogatory. The participant described how the family's relationship with their 'helper' was more of an informal relationship, rather than a formal employment relationship. She did not have official hours or wages and her main duty was to look after the participant's two year old daughter. Participant 12 explained that the family's helper did not have specific duties assigned to her other than looking after their daughter, but she did help the family with other things such as cooking, ironing and cleaning the children's room. The participant explained that he felt it would go against his culture to pay the family's helper, since she was a relative. However, the family did put aside R 2,200.00 a month to raise enough money for her to go back to school. The participant also explained that the family provided payment in kind to their helper, as she shared everything in the house, including food, with the family.

Before the family's relative came to stay with them, the family had two other domestic workers, or helpers, work for them. Both domestic workers were Zimbabwean and stayed with the family. Neither of these domestic workers were relatives of the family. The first domestic worker was referred to the family through the participant's mother-in-law. She left the family to look after her aunt who was diagnosed with cancer. The second was referred to the family through the participant's sister. This domestic worker left the family to return to her husband. The family had the same type of informal relationship with their previous domestic workers as they had with their relative except that the family did pay one of the previous domestic workers, who would send the money back home to her children.

This is an interesting contrast to your other interviews in that it entails a relative. This might be a common type among middle-class black families with poor relatives.

Themes

During the analysis of Participant 10's first interview, the following relevant themes emerged:

Theme 1: Culture and Personal Values versus Government Regulation. This theme describes the way the participant's personal values and culture influence his domestic worker's wages, live-in status and informal relationship with the family more than government regulation does.

Theme 2: Lifecycle Needs. This theme describes how a household or participant's lifecycle needs affect's the domestic worker's conditions of employment. It had one sub-theme, namely 'household employment and children.' This sub-theme describes how household employment and having children affects the domestic worker's live-in, full-time status.

Analysis of the interview with Participant 10 revealed that while he claimed to have knowledge of government regulations covering his domestic worker, he did not know what the minimum wage for her was. Analysis also showed that the participant had motivating factors behind the conditions of employment of his domestic other than government regulations. These will be discussed in more detail below.

Theme 1: Domestic Work's Personal Nature and Personal Values versus Government Regulation

The fact that this participant's family had a very intimate, personal relationship with their domestic worker affected their domestic worker's wages, live-in status and informal relationship with the family more than government regulation did. While the participant explained that that he felt it would go against his culture to pay the family's helper, since she was a relative, this may have also just have been because she was seen as part of the family. Instead of paying their domestic worker, the family put away money each month to help her to eventually go back to school.

The participant's personal values also seemed to be a motivating factor behind the conditions of employment of the family's helper rather than government regulation. The participant explained that he felt his family was helping their relative by putting away money for her schooling each month rather than paying her money, especially since the family provided her

with all her other necessities. He explained that he felt the family's current relationship with their helper was benefiting her more than a formal employment relationship would.

Theme 2: Lifecycle Needs

Household Employment and Children

One of the reasons the participant's family decided to have a full-time, live-in helper was because he and his wife did not have anyone to leave their daughter with when they were at work. Both the participant and his wife were away at work during the week and the participant's wife sometimes worked on weekends. The participant's wife would leave just before 7:00 and return just after 19:00. Sometimes she would leave at 9:00 and returns after 18:00. The participant would leave home just after 7:00 and return home at around 17:00.

While the participant explained that they could possibly leave their baby at a crèche when she is a little older, this would still pose logistical problems for when they would need to pick her up. He explained that he and his wife both sometimes work late, and this would mean that it would be difficult to fetch her from crèche on time.

Participant 11

Participant's Employment History

Before providing an analysis of the interview conducted with Participant 11, a brief summary of the participant's domestic worker employment history is given below in order to provide some context.

On the day of the interview with Participant 11, she had hired a domestic worker for the first time. Prior to this, Participant 11 had never personally hired a domestic worker before. The participant had hired her through a domestic worker company. She had used a cell phone application to do this and had not been required to sign any contract. The household had paid the company R300 to hire the domestic worker. The domestic worker herself was getting paid R25 an hour. Lunch and transport were not provided for and were to be taken out of the hourly wage. The household had decided to hire the domestic worker once a month. They planned, however, to hire the domestic worker's services independently of the company. The duties of the domestic worker would be general cleaning including the bedrooms, bathrooms, kitchen cupboards, repacking wardrobes and cleaning the floors. The domestic worker would not be asked to cook. The household planned to pay the domestic worker R300 a day for four hours of work in future. The participant was not planning to provide the domestic worker with payment in kind or a written contract.

Interpretation of Interview

An interpretation of the interview with Participant 11 is provided below. Analysis of the interview identified three main themes or areas namely (1) government regulation; (2) lifecycle needs; and (3) personal values. Analysis also uncovered the sub-themes or causal mechanisms within these areas explaining why the participant chose not to employ a domestic worker until the day of the interview.

Theme 1: Government Regulation

Personal values vs Government Regulation

Participant 11 was not aware that there was legislation regulating the domestic worker industry in South Africa. She was therefore also not aware of the minimum wage covering

domestic workers. This shows that the participant had other motivating factors behind her decision not to hire a domestic worker until the time of the interview and the wage she and her household was planning to pay the domestic worker.

Theme 2: Lifecycle Needs

Lack of time to clean

Participant 11's decision around whether or not to hire a domestic worker hinged around time. She explained that she had not hired a domestic worker previously because she did not feel the need. She shared a three bedroom apartment with other women and she felt they could manage by themselves. When the participant finally decided to get a domestic worker, however, it was because she did not have time to clean.

Theme 3: Personal Values

The thought of exploitation as a deterrent to hiring a domestic worker

One of the reasons the participant did not hire a domestic worker previously was because she had strong feelings about domestic work in South Africa in general. She felt that domestic workers are exploited and she did not want to be part of the problem. The participant explained how she had heard domestic workers complain about the fact that they had to look after other people's children while they had no time for their own children. These experiences and feeling discouraged her from personally hiring a domestic worker.

However, the participant had heard positive stories about domestic work from her own aunt who was a domestic worker herself. This may have helped her overcome her apprehension when hiring a domestic worker for the first time. However, this should be investigated more.

Potential Follow-Up Questions

- Why did Participant 13 not have time to clean?
- Why did the household choose to hire the domestic worker only once a month?
- Would the participant ever consider hiring a full-time domestic worker?
 - Under what conditions?
- How much would be too much to pay a domestic worker?

Participant 12

Participant's Employment History

Before providing an analysis of the interview conducted with Participant 12, a brief summary of the participant's domestic worker employment history is given below in order to provide some context.

At the time of the interview, Participant 12 had a domestic worker clean her house once a week. The participant did not have fixed hours for her domestic worker who left when she had finished her duties. Nonetheless, the participant's domestic worker usually arrived for work between 8:15 and 8:45 and left around 15:15 in the afternoon. The domestic worker's duties included cleaning and ironing, but not cooking. The participant paid her domestic worker R200 a day, and provided her with bread, peanut butter and jam for lunch as well as tea, coffee and sometimes fruit. In addition, the participant paid her domestic worker when the participant and her husband went away on holiday and when the domestic worker went on holiday in December. The participant did not have a written contract with her domestic worker, did not pay towards her domestic worker's UIF, but did plan to provide her with a 10% annual increase.

Participant 12 explained that she had four domestic workers work for her before her current domestic worker. Each of these domestic workers worked part-time with similar hours and duties to the participant's current domestic worker. The participant did not have written contracts with any of these domestic workers. All of participant 12's domestic workers were South African citizens except for one who was Malawian.

Interpretation of Interview

An interpretation of the interview and follow-up interview with Participant 12 is provided below. Analysis of the interviews identified two main themes or areas, namely (1) government regulation, and (2) lifecycle needs. Analysis also uncovered the sub-themes or causal mechanisms within these areas explaining why the participant chose to employ a part-time domestic worker and whether she would be willing to have a full-time, live-in domestic worker. They also explain how or if government regulation affected the participant's decisions around the wages and hours of his domestic worker.

Theme 1: Government Regulation

Lack of knowledge of government regulation points to other factors influencing the domestic worker's hours and wages

As with many of the participants interviewed for this thesis, Participant 12 did not have a written contract with her part-time domestic worker. She also did not have fixed hours which her domestic worker was expected to work and was unaware of other legislation covering her domestic worker including the minimum wage. In the follow-up interview, however, the participant did explain that information on the regulations around domestic workers can be found on the Department of Labour's website. It is possible that after the first interview with the participant, she did some research. In the follow-up interview, the participant also explained that she felt the minimum wage for domestic workers should be raised. She suggested that it should be raised to between R25 and R30 an hour. This was close to what she was paying her own domestic worker at the time of the second interview, where she explained that she paid her a little more than R30 an hour. She also explained that she would R280 a day would be the maximum amount of money she would be willing to pay her domestic worker as she would not be able to afford more than this. The participant's initial lack of knowledge regarding the minimum wage and government regulations covering domestic workers and her willingness to pay above the minimum wage showed that she had other motivating factors which determined her domestic worker's part-time status, hours and how much she was paid. These various factors are dealt with in the sections below.

Theme 2: Lifecycle Needs

Children

The following lifecycle needs of Participant 12 influenced the wage, hours and live-out status of the participant's domestic worker.

Having children affected the number of times a month that the participant employed her domestic worker

During the interview with Participant 12, she explained how having a baby had affected her decision to employ their domestic worker more often. She explained that she and her husband initially only hired their domestic worker once every two weeks. However, when they had a

baby, they decided to have her once a week for when the baby grows older and starts making more of a mess. The participant also explained that she would consider having a live-in domestic worker to look after her daughter when she is a little older, something which may have been influenced by her experience of having a live-in domestic worker as a child.

Size of Dwelling

Participant 12 felt that the size of her town house played a role in the part-time, live-out status of her domestic worker. She explained that one of the reasons that she only had her domestic worker work part-time was because she stayed in a “small town house” which consisted of two bedrooms and no private yard. She explained that if the house had the “capabilities”, she would consider having a domestic worker live on the property. This meant that if the property included a room or flat outside the house, she would consider having a domestic worker live there.

Conclusion

During analysis of Participant 12’s first interview, it became clear that the participant had very little knowledge of government regulations covering her domestic worker and did not know what the minimum wage for her was. This lack of knowledge showed that she had other motivating factors which determined her domestic worker’s part-time status, live-out status and how much she was paid. The factors affecting her domestic worker’s hours and

Participant 13

Participant's Employment History

Before providing an analysis of the interview conducted with Participant 13, it is important to note that, at the time of the interview, the participant had never had a domestic worker work for her before.

Interpretation of Interview

An interpretation of the interview with Participant 13 is provided below. Analysis of the interview identified three main themes or areas namely (1) government regulation; (2) lifecycle needs; and (3) personal values. Analysis also uncovered the sub-themes or causal mechanisms within these areas explaining why the participant chose not to employ a domestic worker.

Government Regulation

The desire to pay a living wage vs the minimum wage

At the time of the interview, Participant 13's decision not to hire a domestic worker was motivated partly by financial constraints. This financial decision was not influenced by the minimum wage, as the participant did not know what the minimum wage for domestic workers was. Instead, she felt that she could not afford a domestic worker because she would not be able to pay a domestic worker enough to sustain him or herself.

Lifecycle Needs

Size of dwelling and disability

One of the reasons the participant did not employ a domestic worker was because she felt her apartment was too small. Her living space consisted of a bedroom and kitchen and was small enough for her to manage by herself. The participant felt that if she had a larger space, she might be willing to hire a domestic worker. This decision would also be influenced by her disability which meant that she had to use crutches to walk.

Personal and Political Values

Feelings of discomfort around hiring an older domestic worker

The participant's personal values also influenced her decision not to hire a domestic worker. She explained that if she were to hire a domestic worker, she would want to hire someone older than her. She would want to do this because she felt an older person would be more responsible, especially with her daughter. However, she would feel uncomfortable hiring an older domestic worker because she would feel uncomfortable giving an older person instructions. These feelings of discomfort were also part of the reason why she had not hired a domestic worker.